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Theme:

INDIA'S POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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EDITORIAL

INDIA's policy in international affairs expressed in Panchsheel is based on her conviction that world peace and order is best served if she works for peaceful co-existence of opposing social systems, and follows a path of non-alignment between the two Big Power-blocs. It is also dictated by her need to find the political stability and economic resources to enable the fulfilment of her plans of national development. Till recently the people of India have taken India's international policy for granted, and given support to it. For, like Bhave's Sarvodaya, Nehru's Panchsheel has been recognised as an extension of Gandhism, which has roots in the indigenous religious, and cultural traditions of the country. Today, with the set-back Panchsheel has suffered through Chinese threat on India's northern border, India's foreign policy has become a matter of debate. As Pandit Kunzru has stated, it is in the melting pot. Of course, the "thaw" in the cold war between the Big Powers is a real argument in favour of Panchsheel and is so used by the Prime Minister. It may be that India will decide to reaffirm its policy of non-alignment. But it has to be restated in the light of the realities of power-politics involved in meeting the Chinese threat. This restatement will require a reappraisal of the basic presuppositions of the policy, that is, of the assumptions regarding the relation between power and morality underlying it. The insights of Christian Realism are relevant to this critical evaluation of political policies and their cultural presuppositions. The Christian Study Consultation on *A Christian Approach to India's Policy in International Relations* was organised with this conviction. Whether Christian insights were properly understood or relevantly applied to the Indian situation it is for others who read the reports published in this Bulletin to judge.

* * * *

All Christians and Churches have been unanimous in declaring that war is evil and that it is the duty of all to prevent it. In case of failure to so prevent it, what is the Christian duty? Pacifists have all along taken a stand against participation in war, but others have maintained that when war is the lesser of two

evils, citizens have an obligation to participate in it to promote freedom, order and justice in the world. Today however nuclear weapons of war have brought about an entirely new dimension to this whole pacifist-non-pacifist debate. They have eliminated war as a method to achieve any sane political or moral end. It is increasingly recognised that no evil in the political world can be greater than nuclear world war; and any war in a modern world is likely to become a general war which would in the natural course involve use of nuclear and other weapons of indiscriminate destruction. So, while the basic theological and political presuppositions of pacifists and non-pacifists may still remain different, the gulf between their positions regarding war and participation in it has been greatly narrowed down. The Provisional Study Document on *Christians and the Prevention of War in a Nuclear Age—a Theological Discussion*, prepared by a Commission of the World Council of Churches consisting of theologians, scientists, politicians and military men is an honest attempt on the part of a Christian group conscious themselves of involvement in the dilemmas of political and military decisions, to define a Christian position, in the light of the new realities of politics, technology and nuclear weapons. This Document has been published for study by Christian groups and Churches. It was in the fitness of things that the Nagpur Study Consultation reviewed this Document. And it is significant that with the exception of "a small minority", others including both pacifists and non-pacifists could say: "Although there are differences of opinion on many points we are agreed on one point. This is that Christians and Churches should openly declare that the use of these (nuclear) weapons should never be resorted to. Moreover, that Christians must oppose all policies which seem likely to lead to a war using such weapons. Finally, if such a war should occur Christians should urge a cease-fire and resort to non-violent resistance, if necessary till death, hoping in the Resurrection."

* * * *

The unanimity with which the United Nations has called for efforts towards effective disarmament with suitable international control is a hopeful sign. This is perhaps compelled primarily by the nuclear stalemate between the Big Powers which has produced insecurity and nerve-racking competition in the arms race. It is natural therefore that the Powers begin to feel that greater

security may lie in the path of common steps in disarmament. But disarmament raises new problems. International order and peace cannot be maintained without controlling power of some sort. If balance of power is unsuitable, a central world body will have to be vested with power to maintain security and freedom in the world; and this means surrender of sovereignty by nation-states. In fact, the process of disarmament must, and cannot but, go hand in hand with the process of strengthening an international control body with a police force at its disposal. This latter in turn depends on the growth of mutual confidence among the nations, and the development of an ecumenical ethos. It is significant that it is the "Spirit of Camp David" (whatever it may mean) that has led to a serious consideration of proposals for disarmament. Any one step like a treaty on cessation of nuclear tests with suitable control may lead to increase in mutual confidence and in turn may lead to other steps.

* * * *

The relation between traditional communal structures and politics in India raises very difficult problems for democracy. The social life of men and women in our country are lived in organised religious-*cum*-caste communities; and with adult franchise, these communities have become conscious of their power and seek political influence for their self-development. More especially the traditionally depressed or backward communities find in their communal solidarity the one basis of political strength in their march towards equality with the forward communities, who in their turn organise themselves to defend their traditionally vested social status and interests. The situation is one that enhances communal consciousness and conflict. In politics, on the other hand, we are committed to secular democracy and recognise only individual citizens grouped together in non-communal political parties. Political parties based on the self-interest of religious and caste communities are rightly barred in the interest of democratic freedom and national unity. But how shall the non-communal democratic political parties relate themselves to the communal consciousness and conflicts in the social structure? They do get related in any case. The refusal to consciously recognise the necessity of this relation and attempts to hide the communal forces behind political parties only mean that we allow the

relation of political parties to communities go unexamined. This often results in democratic parties falling into the control of undemocratic and reactionary forces. Where the democratic political parties are opposed to any kind of dealing with interest-conscious communal groups, they drive these groups into the control of communist and communal parties which are avowedly anti-democratic. The history of Kerala politics since Independence can be a case-study on this question. The Congress and the P.S.P. fell into the hands of advanced communities with vested interests; this drove the backward communities and the progressive middle-class sections of some of the forward communities into supporting the Communist Party who thus came to power. The Communists in power incited the backward communities to take law into their hands in their fight for their interests, played rough with even the legitimate cultural interests of other communities, and abused the government power to strengthen the Party at the expense of the common good. This disillusioned the democratic-minded middle-class who helped them to power and also brought about the revolt of affected communities.

There is the legitimate question whether such a revolt is right under a democratic constitution. But more relevant to the subject, we are discussing now, is another question. Was it right for aggrieved communities to fight for their interests in the political arena and for the secular democratic political parties to ally themselves with the agitation dominated by leaders of organised communities? These questions, we submit, cannot be answered purely in ideological terms of secularism *versus* communalism. If secular democratic parties must necessarily relate themselves to interest-conscious communities, the question to ask is whether the relation which was established during the Kerala agitation helped or hindered democratic forces. More than this, it is necessary to see how to guard against the possible dangers of this alliance being exploited in future by communal vested interests against necessary democratic social changes in Kerala. It was such an evaluation which was started by the Kerala Consultation which dealt with the relation between politics and communal structures in the State. This is no doubt relevant for other States also. It is clear from the study that if secular political parties are to promote the interest of democracy and social justice, they have to do several things which may appear "communal". (1) They must consciously

support the scheduled castes and other backward communities organised on the basis of their social and economic self-interests. In so doing the parties must convince the backward communities that their interests are better served through non-violent and democratic processes than through violent methods. Even so, the exploitation of their communal organisations by the communists is a possibility. And it will be necessary for democratically-minded members of these communities to seek to take control of their existing communal organisations or if necessary start other organisations under democratic leadership. (2) The advanced communities do have a great deal of traditional vested social status and interests to lose when justice is done to the backward communities. Therefore communal organisations of advanced communities are likely to be socially reactionary. But in opposing them, the democratic parties will be more effective if they work through organisations of progressive democratic groups within these communities. These progressive groups working from within will be more able than a secular party with no relation to the inner life of the community, to fight communal reaction and to educate the communities to accept democratic social changes gracefully. (3) The secular political parties must defend the legitimate religious and cultural rights of the minority communities and thus instil confidence in them that their interests are safe without their own communal intervention in politics. It is on this basis that communal political parties representing minority interests can be opposed. (4) The secular democratic political parties in the immediate present may have to see themselves as developing the sense of the common good and democratic unity not through refusing to recognise "communities" but through the give and take of their interests. It is thus that they can go forward to build new social and cultural loyalties over-riding and other than the communal.

This is a summary of the trends of thinking at the Kerala Consultation as expressed in its Findings published elsewhere. Even in relation to the Kerala situation they are tentative. But they have raised a crucial general question which needs further enquiry in India. In this connection, we may quote from an article by Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy.* He is speaking of the necessity

* From The *Hindu*, November 20, 1959.

of correcting the divisive forces of "communalism and casteism" by establishing new loyalties. We quote: "Against the centrifugal tendencies the centripetal forces must be strengthened. Patriotism built on love of the land and not on religion or religious culture, a common culture fusing all the religious cultures into one, a common language for central government and administration and higher education and all-India intercourse, common social life in clubs, restaurants, schools, colleges, universities and all public institutions—it is through such means that the bias to division in the country must be corrected and neutralised. It is by strengthening the body of the unity of India that the disease of division must be resisted."

* * * *

Part of the Findings of the U.P. Christian Consultation on *Political Life* may be considered a commentary on the preceding discussion on Secular politics and Communal interests. Here is a quotation:

> In view of the patent need of political education of the community as a basic responsibility we discussed the desirability or otherwise of starting an independent Christian organization which could deal with and advise on political issues. We are of unanimous opinion that in the context of our national life and the democratic secular constitution of the country, it would be detrimental and indeed dangerous to set up a political party on communal lines, and yet it thinks it feasible to provide a platform for the expression and mobilization of Christian public opinion on all matters of national and state import. It will also deal with other matters affecting the social and economic interests of the Christian community within the context of national development through existing Christian institutional bodies.
>
> We believe that such a Christian organization to safeguard and promote the economic and social interests of our community, the vast majority of whose members belong to the lowest strata of the Indian society, would not be against the national interest; on the contrary, such efforts towards improvements of the conditions and status of the community will be an integral part of the national development programme and a contribution to the fulfilment of the ideals

towards which our nation is now striving. We must not therefore be unduly apprehensive of adverse opinion, for the organization will finally be judged by how constructive and positive its policy and work have been in actual practice.

The statement asks the Christian community to be "alert to observe any symptoms of minority psychology developing within it". It disapproves the suggestion of "entering into a Minority Pact with other communal groups". For, it says :

> Such a step will be narrow and communal and therefore detrimental to national interests, besides provoking reactions in the majority community. On the other hand, ways and means should be sought to educate the majority community through information, discussion and by appealing on specific situations to their goodwill, their spirit of patriotism and above all to their sense of justice.

PRESUPPOSITIONS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY*

By John G. Arapura, *Serampore*

Basic Religious Motifs

The predominant motifs of Indian civilisation are determined by (1) the Buddhist *dharma*, (2) the Brahmanical *yajna*, (3) the Upanishadic *yoga*, and (4) the Epic *yoga* more specifically called *tapasya*. History not being static, new motifs have all along been added to these, and even more particularly in our own time. But the discipline of centuries when India had been virtually isolated from the rest of the world had planted and nurtured some very deep-rooted qualities which are fundamental in the making of the Indian mind.

(1) *Buddhist Dharma.—Dharma* is one of the three "refuges" of early Buddhism: *Dharmam saranam gacchami*. The Buddhist *dharma* presented an individual ideal of tranquillity leading to *Nirvana*, embodied in the Panchasheelam, the five principles. The noteworthy things about the Panchasheelam were (*a*) it was an ideal of conduct, (*b*) it was an absolute ideal aimed at the full attainment of a perfect goal, and (*c*) it was an individual ideal that had no intentional bearing on the relation between man and man, but only on man's relation to himself. This last observation, however, is no criticism, because many religious ethics have a central emphasis on an individual's conduct towards himself, but the same ethics have also lent themselves to be expanded so as to cover society. Original Buddhist ethic understood the relevance of society at least rudimentarily even at the very start, as is evidenced by its emphasis, alongside of *dharma*, on *sangha*. It added: *Sangham saranam gacchami*.

But Hinduism went farther in devising an idea of *dharma* that covered individual as well as social goals, incorporating at the same time some essential elements of the Buddhist *dharma*

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* An introductory talk given at the Christian Study Consultation on *A Christian Approach to India's Policy in International Affairs*, held in Nagpur, September 29 to October 5, 1959. Mr. Arapura is on the staff of the Serampore College and is Secretary of the Board of Theological Studies of the University of Serampore.

particularly its doctrine of *ahimsa*. Thus the *Mahabharata* states that *ahimsa* is the supreme law, *ahimsa paramo dharma*.

Our present political Panchsheel that governs our foreign policy is definitely a spiritual descendant of the Buddhist Panchasheelam, but in a very qualified sense. It is decidedly neither a distortion nor a direct application of the five-fold characteristics of the Buddhist *dharma*, but an extension of the same motif, as comprehending both the ideal of conduct and the method of attaining the goal. However, in the place of man's relation to himself or to his community, it has embraced the domain of international relations as its proper sphere.

(2) *Brahmanical Yajna*.—Here I am speaking of what pertains to the literature of the Brahmanas. Unlike in Buddhism the central motif of Brahmanism was *yajna*. (Chronologically, Buddhism must come after this and other phases of Vedic religion but we are not concerned with any chronological order of thought.) *Yajna* was God-compelling, ritualistic sacrifice. It was believed to have intrinsic potency, which could permit man even to by-pass God. The efficacy was in the method itself.

Yajna is an element of religious thought that has been powerfully operative in the thinking of Indians throughout the ages. It is significant that in our times Vinoba Bhave often speaks of Bhoodan Yajna, where he seeks to lead the potencies of *yajna* away from the domains of human wishes, transcendental or this-worldly, individual destinies and relation to God, into that of social and economic life. The idea of efficacy of sacrifice continues to dominate here also; but the sacrifice is no more ritualistic sacrifice of animals but ethical sacrifice of selfishness. The goal of *yajna* for Vinoba Bhave is the establishment of a just order of society. Incidentally, the idea of justice in the social order and in the distribution of wealth evidently is the result of the impact of Western religious and social thought but is equally evidently reinforced by the sanctions that the reinterpretations of the *dharma* doctrine as found in the scriptures yielded. This is a digression. For we are not here concerned with the way in which the idea of justice came to be incorporated by Vinoba and other thinkers like him. Our concern is with the idea of *yajna* and the way in which it was pressed into service in social and political programmes.

And though not in the Bhave sense, the notion of *yajna* is present in our foreign policy: there is the same reliance in the method, the same trust in its efficacy and potency, the same belief that the other party or parties can be moved by some well-meaning resolution on one's own part which is a substitute for rigorous and requisite sacrificial undertakings as Gandhi would have done. This is significant.

(3) *Upanishadic Yoga.*—In the Upanishads ritualistic formulæ were replaced by metaphysical formulæ. This is in keeping with the important difference between the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. Metaphysical formulæ of the Upanishads may otherwise be called doctrines. Here we have the *mahavakyas* such as *Tat Tvam Asi*, *Aham Brahma'smi*, etc. They are the basis of the Upanishadic yoga-method aimed at metaphysical realization. The inerrancy of doctrine and the efficacy of the *yoga*-method, because it derives from the doctrine, are important elements here. Are these not characteristic of much of our thinking? It is noteworthy that reason itself in our Indian thought takes the form of doctrine (*siddhanta*), as the means of reaching truth, *i.e.*, *yoga*. Are they not also present in the presuppositions of our foreign policy? If anything goes amiss, we have a tendency to assume that the world is wrong and not the doctrine or our method. But this is only a needless and avoidable outcome of pursuing reason in the doctrine-way. Doctrine itself is a perfectly legitimate way of reasoning.

(4) *Epic Tapasya.*—In the Epics, particularly in *Mahabharata*, austerities or *tapasya* takes the place of *yajna* and *yoga*. The predominant goal of austerities is the attainment of physical prowess. In a way *Tapasya* was a new extension of the Brahmanical *Yajna*, by-passing the Upanishadic *yoga*. Here develops the idea of the moral or the psychological control of the physical forces of the universe. It is possible to see the presence of this element not only in the distinctly religious thought of India or in the religious-oriented Gandhi-Bhave social philosophy but also in the philosophy behind our Government's foreign policy.

Our International Policy

Mahatma Gandhi has to be seen as the link between the religious motifs above mentioned and the presuppositions that are

operative in our international policy. For it is in him that all these religious elements are manifestly channelled into political action. We could also relevantly speak of the very remarkable synthesis, and therefore transformation, of all these elements that the *Bhagavad Gita* had achieved. It is not necessary to enter into a discussion of it within the very limited purview of our present consideration; it is enough to mention it in passing. But this should serve to give us some clue to the pre-eminent place that Mahatma Gandhi assigned to the *Gita* among his sources of inspiration. In the hands of Gandhi, political goals and the method itself evolved into one that was relevant for political application. There was, to be sure, also an element of genuine international action in Gandhi's politics so that the Gandhian presuppositions did not seem to our contemporary policy-makers to be without bearing on the conduct of international relations.

Now, although our present policy is considerably diluted in comparison to Gandhi's method of politics, it cannot be denied that the one is an extension of the other, another extension (in a purer form) being the Sarvodaya Movement. The specific, nay unique, characteristic of the Gandhian alchemy of the old religious presuppositions is the faith in the efficacy of goodness and the convertibility of goodness (organized, mass goodness) into political power. When the Gandhian method was appropriated by our present policy-makers the result was a certain vagueness of ideas and a certain thinness of ideals, and the "spiritual" gave place to the pragmatic in the concept of efficacy. Certainly there was an element of the pragmatic in Gandhi himself as was seen in his equation between power and goodness. But today our foreign policy as expressed in Panchsheel is stripped of the element of "spiritual" efficacy that had made that equation possible. In its place is substituted the more pragmatically plausible give and take of human relations to be practised at all times, reflecting, in a sense, the religious scepticism of the sponsors themselves.

In Gandhi's thought the pragmatic element was reduced to the minimum when he proved willing at certain critical moments in the freedom movement to commit the nation to a course that would lead to martyrdom. However, he was also sure that before that happened the formula for converting goodness into power would begin to work, as a consequence forestalling such a terrible national fate. The pragmatic element, however, is dominant in the

foreign policy of India which is expressed in Panchsheel. It involves no heroic faith in the spiritual "power" of goodness. It is a principle of conduct based only partly on a Gandhian foundation, and is largely built on the "rational" basis of mutual interest. It does not put up a heroic fight for the abstract value called "right", but pursues the path of pragmatic negotiation for the safeguarding of concrete interests including survival. Even so its power is based on a notion of goodness, although considerably weakened and midway between pragmatic-rational and idealist-moral. Thus the Panchsheel idea of goodness derives from the faith in the *good sense* of all people and from the trust that peoples and nations will observe the sanctity of contract and mutual agreement. Its goodness consists in such a faith and such a trust. In other words it places a higher reliance on reciprocity or continually nurtured mutuality of goodwill and good faith than Gandhian Satyagraha ever did or needed to do.

In Gandhi there was the awareness that goodwill would not readily come from the other side unless there was a maximum commitment to sacrificial acts and intentions of good on one's own side. In Panchsheel, on the other hand, there is the expectation of maximum reciprocity forthcoming on the basis of the mutual recognition of self-interest alone. Gandhi was certainly more realistic in the sense that he made allowance for the adversary to do the utmost harm in the course of the struggle. And the Gandhian Movement was cast in the mould of a struggle, a direct action of one party against the other aimed at the speedy removal of injustice, vacation of aggression and termination of foreign rule. To that extent it was vigorous and dynamic. Panchsheel, on the other hand, by virtue of its being a method of conducting foreign relations in times both of peace and war has had to be cast in the mould of policy. Strangely enough, the policy seems to have excluded a situation in which one's own country becomes the victim of aggression.

Powerlessness *versus* Power

Both Gandhian Satyagraha and Nehru's Panchsheel have a common element; they both attempt to turn powerlessness into power. While Gandhi used the agency of sacrificial goodness to achieve this conversion, Nehru's government invokes pragmatic and moral forces for the same purpose. These forces as already

mentioned, are in the main, trust in all people's good sense and recognition of mutual interest. For Gandhi sacrificial goodness was not an end in itself, it was a method of struggle, a means to blunt the edge of power and to force it to come to terms with powerlessness. That is why instead of *non-resistance* he chose *non-violent resistance*. On the contrary our Government, true to its philosophy of being mid-way between pragmatism and idealism, has adopted a mixed approach. Some of its policies carry imports of abstention and negation and some others are dynamic and positive. Thus we have on the one hand non-alignment and neutrality between power-blocs, non-condemnation of either side and non-participation in military alliances and on the other, active cultivation of friendship, support to freedom movements and condemnation of racial segregation.

There is no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha struggle was very successful. It also deserves to be recognized and acknowledged as a programme of effective goodness, having in mind the relativity as well as absoluteness of all human ethical distinctions. And within the limits in which goodness can be organized as a mass force, making allowance for deviations, perversions and perils, the Gandhian programme acquired a unique character and achieved results. But it is too much of a simplification to conclude that it succeeded because it was moral. There is no such simple cause and effect relation between its character and its success. To see it so is the first step in a path of illusion leading to peril. It is natural that our generation immediately succeeding that of the fighters of national freedom inherit this legacy of illusion and reap fruits of confusion.

While sacrificial goodness was an agency that turned powerlessness into power, it did not generate that power out of itself nor was power intrinsic to it. The strength of sacrificial goodness is the strength of character—"for when I am weak then am I strong"—but that strength should not be confused with the power to move things. Such confusion is always the result partly of figurative speech. Surely, suffering goodness has a power to move men, though not things. However, it is not an objective spiritual (or magical) "force". It is a subjective influence which works through opening up sympathy and understanding in others. For that reason the possibilities of its success are dependent upon

external conditions and it should not be forgotten that situations may prevail where they may not exist.

Thus although in our Satyagraha struggle the power operative was apparently the power of goodness, in actual fact it was a combination of factors of implicit power. It is not true to say that in that struggle we relied entirely on character and suffering to work magic, although often we believed that such was the case; it was not in reality an epic of moral control of the physical, although epic it was in another sense. There were two main sources of power on our side of the struggle. One was public sympathy, which was tapped successfully. The other was the implicit assurances of support from genuine possessors of power opposed to the concrete might that we were fighting against. This support might have come unsought, and perhaps it was also unrecognised. But certainly it was there. There was nothing very moral or altruistic about it either. The powers supporting our struggle were anxious to aid us because it promoted their own self-interest. In some cases they may also have been partly motivated by considerations of the universal rights of man and the right of nations to self-determination. There are special historical circumstances in which those who lack power can negotiate with power sources with the support, however tacit and unpronounced, of opposing power sources.

A scene in Bernard Shaw's play, *Androcles and the Lion*, comes to my mind. There is Androcles the helpless Christian slave captured by the Roman guards standing in the arena face to face with a lion which he recognizes—and which recognizes him—to be the same beast from whose paw he pulled out a thorn and consequently befriended. There is the crowd in the amphitheatre and there is Caesar, all amazed by the strange lamb-like behaviour of the lion. Then the Emperor himself is pursued by the lion. Androcles saves him by getting between him and the lion, and the frightened Emperor begs Androcles to "keep between us". The slave's words addressed to the lion, "Come now, Tommy; and speak nicely to the Emperor, the great good Emperor who has power to have all our heads cut off if we don't behave very very respectfully to him", has a very ironical ring about them. Does Caesar really have power now? He is tightly cornered by another symbol of power, the lion, and he had better make friends with

Androcles the slave, the friend of that power, or else the lion will pounce on him or at least so he fears. "We see how magnanimous we Romans are. Androcles, we suffer you to go in peace." These words of Caesar are as hollow as the eternal claim of many a Church historian that Christians won their freedom from the Roman persecutions by virtue of the sheer strength of their faith and goodness.*

Incidentally, the belief that goodness can be converted into power, even political power, is not exclusively of Hindu origin, for it belongs to a more general idealistic pattern of peripheral religious faith. But it is in India, that it combines with the four elements of the religious motifs discussed above, and becomes an elaborate, highly developed and rigid technique. And it took place in Gandhi.

The historical circumstances in which goodness "wins" do not conform to any necessary self-repetitive pattern. The Gandhian non-violent struggle won in one of those unique combinations of circumstances. The historical lesson that we draw from it must really be tinged with scepticism, and should not be such as to induce us to mechanically and unimaginatively repeat it. The uniqueness of the circumstances that once prevailed cannot be recalled or reproduced by command. By assigning wrong reasons for the success of a specific case of non-violent struggle we may be tempted to extend it to wholly imaginary situations, thus losing sight of the realistic state of affairs. And yet, there can be no canon against re-employing the method in certain other situations that bear more than a superficial resemblance to the one in which it was once successfully used. Though history may not repeat itself, there is abundant justification to consider that the pattern of power-relations is somewhat enduring. So the utility of non-violent "power" cannot be ruled out. But the change of circumstances demands adaptation in the method of non-violent struggle. Such adaptation serves to demonstrate that the power that is counted on to bring in victories is not actually inherent in non-violence itself. It should also serve to make

* This is a case in which Shaw wrote better than he knew, or intended. I am, of course, giving this episode a symbolic interpretation, treating it as a parable of the meaning of history as bearing on the problem of the alleged victory of truth depending on the power of goodness. It is different from the moral interpretation that Shaw himself has given to it and to the whole play, as his later commentary makes it clear.

us wise as to the manner in which in every concrete situation power vested elsewhere could be successfully tapped so as to strengthen the negotiating power of non-violence, or so to say goodness.

Now let us pass on to consider the manner in which our Government is trying to change powerlessness into positive power. Our foreign policy is in a very real sense an extension of the Gandhian method. Our Panchsheel is a reincarnation of Gandhi's technique, spread out on the vaster canvas of global power-relations. It is also somewhat more negative compared to Satyagraha, to the extent that it implies no actual struggle, because being a third party technique, non-involvement, non-participation, etc., are its more pronounced traits. It is here not doing negotiation for itself but for others. And when it comes to doing its own negotiating with an aggressor its presuppositions will have to be vastly remodelled.

Gandhi used sacrificial goodness as the abiding fulcrum in the lever of negotiation with the power-source he was struggling against. Therefore even if the sympathy and support of others did not crystallize to the extent of offsetting or bringing to terms the power of the adversary, he could still hold before the nation the grand possibility of martyrdom, the crown of which no one could take away. For if the hope of success proved false, there was still the character, which was the real leg on which he stood if it came to a pinch. For our Government's policy, the corresponding fulcrum is not really strong. The leverage in our policy comes from such undependable quantities as good sense and other pragmatic-*cum*-moral considerations with which we credit the peoples of the world and the leaders of nations. Indeed it is much easier to be heroic than to be sensible. It is also much simpler to call out self-sacrificing and martyr passions from one's own people than to bring out rational attitudes from others and from ourselves in mutual conduct. Political motives are more determined by irrational factors than by rational ones, and the poignant theme of current politics is the irrational way in which reason is exploited and used for irrational ends.

Surely a government is a government and not a movement. Its policies are meant to be successful, and when success is lost everything is lost. It does not have a second leg, like character, to stand on. In many cases our policy has been successful.

In actual fact, the real fulcrum of our foreign policy is something which we have not sufficiently recognized and given credit for what it is. It is the implicit power that is inherent in ourselves as a nation, that could really sway the delicate balance of power if not in any other way, at least by the sheer weight of numbers. This potential power has been really the mightiest factor in converting our actual powerlessness into power. This is clearly a reason why a big and populous country like India, reinforced by a group of small nations, can wield it effectively and in several cases successfully. This shows that considerations like good sense of nations need to be activated by the factor of power, potential or actual.

The Crisis of Our Policy

Success also like power corrupts and intoxicates. A policy might put on the vesture of dogmatic infallibility and strangely enough, could become more aggressively dogmatic when it ceases to be successful. Our self-assurance may be such as to regard the unique element embodied in Panchsheel as the whole of our foreign policy and as a complete substitute for all conventional ingredients of international relations, rather than as one element in the total policy. This becomes a hindrance to our free movement. It also makes us more incapable of seeing the realities of the situation. The need for flexibility in our attitude towards the use of power is forcefully presented in a situation in which we ourselves become the victims of someone's aggression. Inflexibility could result in the weakening of national defence. Our policy exhibits traits of total reliance upon verbal agreements and sloganized professions of some nations who on their part are quite ready and willing to use power to gain political and ideological ends. Because of the very nature of these exceedingly general agreements—not affecting any specific areas where interests clash —we could create illusions of mutual appreciation, from which we suddenly wake up with a jolt to find out that we have been all along more appreciative than appreciated. These illusions might have made us throw off the safeguards of world opinion and sympathy, which are real factors of power, and incline us helplessly towards those whose goodwill we need for the very vindication of our zealously followed policy. The legitimate desire for consistency could make us shift our loyalty from our own vital interests to our cherished views on policy matters. Thus loyalty to ourselves

will become more and more abstract so that it will end up by being loyalty to a spirit of loyalty. As a result of all this, the powerlessness that had been patiently raised to the status of power will be immobilized and reconverted to sheer powerlessness.

It is at such a juncture of despair and disillusionment that the unique ingredients of our foreign policy are sorely tested and the prospect of gaining power through the expedient of alliances puts on a smiling countenance. But such an about-face will be disastrous. There is the opposite possibility of adopting the Gandhian type of non-violent resistance, which will be found attractive to many. But besides the dangers of that course, described already, there is the additional problem today of rousing and uniting the nation for any such programme. That unity of will and purpose does not exist today as it did in Gandhi's time. Conditions have changed. The niggardliness of many sections of our people in waking up to the dangers of the incursions on our north-eastern border is illustrative of this.

A way has to be sought and found for continued and increased effectiveness of our foreign policy. The alternatives of going all out to adopt the Gandhian course of sacrificial struggle and of turning right-about to engage in military preparedness must not really arise. Nevertheless, both the moral and the pragmatic elements must be there and must be strengthened. These elements, as already noted, are present in our policy, but the foundations of both are considerably weakened for reasons that have been discussed. The moral requires perception, discrimination and judgment of human values in political systems and of moral contents in ideological systems. It also requires the will to take up positions on these, without of course, permitting fanaticism to creep in. It includes the will to take risks for these things. The pragmatic on the other hand requires the will and the ability to call up all available power—short of military power by alliances, which in the present context of the world will make no sense at all—and more especially intangible forms of power like world opinion. It must not only be called up but retained. Thus while we will aim at the ideal of reciprocity in relations of trust with other nations, we will not have to proceed unarmed under the assumption that such reciprocity is infallibly there if only we would just take advantage of it.

This is really a continuing struggle, not a task once done and finished with. Need it be said that no foreign policy can be successful unless it reflects a strong and vital internal policy? No talk of foreign policy can ever be complete without considering the problems of social and economic progress and justice within a country. This is just a reminder.

In conclusion, and to come back to the religious motifs that we started with, we perhaps have seen how they are operative in changed form in our foreign policy thinking and methods, although they are combined with certain other motifs characteristic of the age. As Gandhi tried a moral reintegration of these, our policy-makers have tried to effect an integration that is partly moral and partly pragmatic, but both the moral and the pragmatic are here very weak. We need a higher and better reintegration that is at once strongly moral and strongly pragmatic. The religious motifs of a nation must perforce be used. They are always being used in any case, so that there is room for someone to write a religious interpretation of history, corresponding to Marx's economic interpretation. The dynamic requirements of the reintegration that we are talking about will, however, compel us to use insights and motifs that come from another source. But the occasion to talk about them is not this.

Nagpur Findings—I

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN RELATION TO WORLD PEACE AND ORDER*

CHRISTIAN citizens and the Church in India must have a profound concern for the present state of the world. Christian Indians as citizens of this democratic country must exercise their duty to assess governmental policies in terms of their loyalty to their country, and in accordance with the specific insights derived from the norms of their faith. This implies a full responsibility to inspire, to correct and to criticise the policies of the Government, free from the inhibitions of minority consciousness. Accordingly we have an inescapable part to play in the setting up of norms for the conduct of policy. In a fast shrinking world it is inevitable that the policies of a country as influential as ours, with its great potentialities, should have far-reaching effects on the world as a whole; as such it is essential that the foreign policy of the country must faithfully reflect the basic convictions of our people. Our foreign policy is fundamentally motivated by this consideration.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

There are three concepts that are to be clearly understood in Indian foreign policy. They are: (1) Non-alignment; (2) Co-existence; (3) Panchsheel.

(1) *Non-Alignment.*—India's foreign policy is based on the desire, expressed at the time of her attaining Independence, for friendship for all and enmity towards none. Non-alignment first took shape in the context of the Korean War, when India refused to align herself with either of the power-blocs. Since then it has been developed as the positive policy of India's relation with the power-blocs. This policy has been much misunderstood. Non-alignment is not a negative policy of ignoring power-blocs. On the contrary, it takes power-blocs as realities and seeks to establish a way relating our country positively to them which implies the reserving to ourselves freedom to judge all issues as they arise and

* Findings of a Study Consultation on *A Christian Approach to India's Policy in International Relations*, held at Nagpur, September 30 to October 5, 1959, under the joint auspices of the CISRS, the FOR and the NCC. *See* report elsewhere.

to take sides on those issues without any prior commitment. This policy seeks as well to promote positive relations leading to better understanding between the power-blocs themselves. It is natural, therefore, that India rejoices in the recent meeting of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khruschev.

The latter objectives of non-alignment, namely, mutual understanding between power-blocs and world peace, necessitate co-existence which constitutes another basic principle of our foreign policy.

(2) *Co-existence.*—This concept in the present political context had however a different origin historically. It was first enunciated by Stalin. India has all along sought to give a positive content to this idea of co-existence (*a*) by her consistent opposition to war for any reason, (*b*) by treating co-existence as a first step towards a positive, purposeful and dynamic partnership among the nations, (*c*) by enlarging the area of peace by inviting other sovereign states to commit themselves to and abide by the five principles of Panchsheel.

Co-existence has been implicitly recognised by a large number of nations as the only alternative to total destruction. It is noteworthy that the idea of co-existence has gained greater acceptance in recent times. India was able to make a special contribution to this idea in the shape of wide and consistent advocacy of it largely on account of the freedom from the inhibitions of alignment with power-blocs. The fact should not be ignored that India's stand was considerably strengthened by the support and co-operation of similar uncommitted nations.

(3) *Panchsheel.*—Panchsheel, which has been formulated more recently, has been enunciated as the philosophy of the principles of non-alignment and co-existence, and hence has become the third and the comprehensive principle of our foreign policy. The following are the five clauses* of Panchsheel:

(*a*) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty:

(*b*) Non-aggression;

(*c*) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs, for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character;

* Quoted from the Indo-Soviet communique.

(*d*) Equality and mutual benefit; and

(*e*) Peaceful co-existence.

These fundamental principles are permeated with the conviction that no nation has an exclusive claim to righteousness and that differing ideologies and systems can live side by side. Its corollaries are: (*a*) India's unequivocal stand on universal human rights, (*b*) her uncompromising stand on colonialism and self-determination for peoples everywhere, (*c*) her opposition to imperialism either of the East or of the West.

The foreign policy of India, as comprehending the three basic concepts of non-alignment, co-existence and panchsheel, need assessment as a positive evaluation on the one hand and in terms of its limitations on the other.

Positive Evaluation

1. The foreign policy of India while in the early stages of non-alignment was a factor in reducing tensions in certain areas of conflict and in localising and resolving some outbreaks of war in recent history. The salutary effect of India's policy on the Korean and Indo-China wars are only two examples of her achievements in this respect. In the later stages of our foreign policy also we were able to play a somewhat similar role in helping to localise the outbreak of war in the Suez area, where there was no alignment and polarisation of power-blocs.

2. It has helped to temper ideological and political passions in both the power-blocs.

3. It has acted as a corrective to the ideological and moral crusading spirit in both the opposing camps of the Cold War.

4. It is truly consistent with India's newly won freedom from foreign domination and the demands of national interest as a growing national power involved in certain unresolved disputes, *e.g.*, Kashmir.

5. It strengthens the country's sense of dignity and integrity as a nation and her legitimate desire to be significant and effective in the counsel of nations.

6. It gives her freedom to express her national soul, which is characterised by the universalist world-view. India's free cultural exchanges with all the nations of the world illustrate this.

7. It has helped her to promote the cause of world peace out of her concern not only for the security of the nation and for the realisation of her national goal of rapid economic advancement but also for the security of mankind.

Having regard to the positive elements in our foreign policy, Christian citizens have no hesitation in giving wholehearted support to it. Nevertheless it is our duty to point out some serious limitations in the policy as it is in operation.

Limitations

1. One limitation of this policy is that our adherence to the three underlying principles of non-alignment, co-existence and panchsheel as though they were dogmas of political faith, might lead us to regard different ideological systems as equal in moral content. In contrast to the habit of some countries in the Western bloc, India refuses to divide the world sharply into the communists and the "free world", equating them respectively with dictatorship and freedom and to judge all international issues on that basis. This refusal may appear to be consistent with the policy of non-alignment and of being realistic because the anti-communist bloc is not made up entirely of free democratic nations. But it can make us minimise the dangers of communism and lose sight of the values of democracy. This may strengthen, and already to some extent has strengthened, the belief prevalent among certain sections of the intelligentsia that there is no moral choice to be made between the two systems. This situation is fraught with certain dangers in a country which is only beginning to practise democracy.

2. Moral principles are always fundamental in any political philosophy of international relations. But when they are followed with a sense of self-righteousness, we get into a position of moralism. Generally our leaders seem to be aware of this danger. But there has been a great deal of accretion of this element of moralism in the pronouncements and attitudes of some of the advocates of our foreign policy. Therefore it has been misunderstood as being based on an assumption of moral superiority on our part as a people. For the same reason, our policy has been criticised as lacking a sense of realism regarding the moral dilemmas of power. In fact, moralism has tended to conceal the inherent moral strength of our foreign policy.

3. An element of dogmatic rigidity present in the policy of non-alignment has led to a failure to recognise the full realities of the different situations. So we tend to cling to it even in situations in which it has little relevancy. Only if all the principles of panchsheel are loyally adhered to by the nations concerned, can the policy of non-alignment be practised by any country. What is more, panchsheel requires a continually nurtured mutuality of goodwill and good faith. In our relations with China, for instance, the question has arisen as to what will happen to freedom and security, which were to be secured by a policy based on panchsheel, where the other party withdraws its goodwill and becomes aggressive. What alternative have we in such a critical situation? This is the dilemma our foreign policy has to face. Can world opinion and the influences of a progressive society and a healthy vigorous economy provide the necessary alternative to military power in the absence of goodwill in our neighbours? Possibly, our sympathetic leanings in foreign policy decisions have in recent years been with China and her friends and this has resulted in the loss of a certain amount of world opinion in our favour. Can we in these circumstances still deal with the Sino-Indian situation on the lines of panchsheel?

4. The tendency to be dogmatic has marred to some extent the effectiveness of our foreign policy. Before our foreign policy assumed a dogmatic character, we were able to achieve some notable results in international negotiations for settling conflicts, *e.g.*, Korea and Indo-China. And we need to ask ourselves why we have failed to be so effective in more recent conflicts like Hungary. Is it because we have become less able to deal with conflicts which are part of the struggle between the power-blocs? We were no doubt effective in the Suez problem, but then, it was not a part of that struggle.

The Prospect for Non-Alignment

We are convinced that a policy of true non-alignment, with its dynamic involvement in every relevant international issue, is alone the right policy for India to pursue. There is much in the contemporary world situation that encourages us to persist in this policy. The high level conversations that are now taking place on the basis of the Khruschev proposal for total disarmament, is a matter for particular satisfaction to us. Nevertheless we feel

it necessary to caution ourselves that we should not pin our entire hope on their outcome. Mindful of the concrete realities of the world and the paradoxes of human sin in history, we should take care not to be swayed to extremes of optimism and pessimism. And although we should not belittle the frightening prospect of a nuclear war, we should not allow ourselves to be psychologically paralysed by it. India's expressed resolve to develop and use nuclear power for peaceful purposes only is of real symbolic value. In the same way, her continued protest against nuclear weapons tests have given strength to the movement for a total ban on such weapons. It is equally encouraging to India that there has been a noticeable lessening of the tendency to doubt the good faith of the great powers in their disarmament proposals.

India and the U.N.

Our wholehearted participation in the United Nations has been a factor strengthening that Organisation, which also gives us a forum for wider expression of our policy of non-alignment. However, taking into consideration the present structure of the U.N., we must be warned against excessive expectations from the U.N. in settling all controversial problems and in bringing into being the universally cherished idea of a world community and order, for we take note of the fact that on points at which U.N. decisions touch the self-interest and sovereignty of nations, there has been a tendency to resist them. We ourselves are no exception to this tendency. The situation challenges us to realise the fact that international law and its enforcement through the U.N. are ultimate goals to which our foreign policy must be geared. Furthermore, we must consider ways and means of strengthening the U.N. and all its activities within the existing framework, rather than give way to immediately impractical proposals to introduce drastic changes in the structure of the world body itself.

The Moral Dilemma

On a total appraisal of our foreign policy, we can conclude that there is here a passionate adherence to global peace. The desire for peace is very much reinforced by its sheer necessity for our national reconstruction. This explains our adherence to non-commitment and our vacillation in certain crucial international issues where human rights were involved. The anxiety for peace

also indirectly involves our commitment to democratic freedom within the country which is sought to be preserved by the building up of a welfare state. Hence our objection to military pacts in our area, which objection is quite legitimate. These military pacts in our area seek to impose a universally applicable solution to the threat to freedom without taking into account the special complexities of the problems in the underdeveloped countries. The Western powers, who are the major partners in these military pacts, have erred in assuming that freedom could be maintained by the extension of the military frontiers. There has not been sufficient recognition on their part of the fact that the threat to freedom could also come from within as a consequence of unjust and reactionary social systems which resist the demand for rapid social and economic change. A contented and progressive society should be regarded as the first line of defence against the onslaught of communism in the South-East Asia region.

On the contrary, the extension of our opposition to military pacts in other areas, particularly Europe, where the above considerations are not equally relevant, tends to be blind and unrealistic. In either case, there has been a tendency to seek easy and simple solutions to complex dilemmas involving moral values.

Nagpur Findings—II

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN RELATION TO ASIAN NEIGHBOURS*

ASIA has been the home of many peoples and has nourished a variety of cults, cultures and political systems down the ages. Distance, difference of language, lack of communication, among other factors, have made for distinctive patterns of life in different regions. Large parts of the continent have lived under subjection to rulers whom they have regarded as alien for long periods in their history. With the development of the means of communication and under the impact of modern concepts of nationhood, freedom and international co-operation, a new sense of distinctive selfhood has continued to grow. The desire to preserve their distinctive entity and their own way of life has come to be cherished by peoples as they have become aware of their claims to nationhood and as they have successfully asserted their sovereignty. Asia is an area of dense and growing populations. China, India and Japan stand out as great countries with growing populations. In a continent where new independent states are struggling for stability 'the big neighbour' is looked upon with mixed feelings of fear and awe on the one hand and respect and admiration on the other.

There exists a hypersensitiveness among Asian peoples as they emerge as new sovereign states. In such an atmosphere all citizens are influenced in their thinking by national urges and the tendency to stand by their respective governments is naturally great. We realise that in India we are open to these influences. It is not always easy to take a detached view of matters in which the interests of our nation clash with the policies of our neighbours. While we cannot claim to be free of national prejudice we seek to view matters in the light of our Christian faith in the reality of human solidarity across national borders.

As Indians we are painfully aware of the grievous events which accompanied the birth of India and Pakistan as separate

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states. The emotional upsets of that time made many Indians and many Pakistanis forget their common humanity and their sense of right and wrong. Recovery of our emotional and spiritual balance has been slow on both sides of the border. The poisons of hate and political anger have not been eliminated completely even to this day. Mutual suspicion plays a large part in Indo-Pakistan relations.

As we review our foreign policies as they affect our immediate neighbours we do so with humility, with full recognition that we may be mistaken in our interpretation of facts.

India and Her Neighbours

Pakistan.—The relations between India and Pakistan have continued to be strained mostly owing to two issues, *viz.*, Kashmir and canal water dispute. The American military aid to Pakistan has aggravated the situation. In considering the future of Kashmir it should be remembered that India has never accepted the principle of religion being the basis of nationhood. Therefore, she does not concede the Pakistani claim based on this principle. The fact of Kashmir being an integral part of India is based on the Instrument of Accession, duly executed by the then constitutional head of the State and subsequently ratified by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly. It should be recalled that India agreed to accept the accession of Kashmir only on the condition that the ruler introduced popular government.

As for the plebiscite, India offered it on condition that the aggressor withdrew completely and restored the government of the territory to the rightful government of Kashmir. Since this has not been done and since the economic and political conditions have changed unrecognisably, the offer of a plebiscite does not hold good any more. For the sake of the political stability of the sub-continent and in the interest of neighbourly harmony it would be better to maintain the present situation.

With regard to the canal water dispute, the World Bank's efforts have lessened the tension between India and Pakistan, as also the recent meeting of President Ayub Khan with Prime Minister Nehru. For the badly needed economic development of both countries, it is important that peaceful and cordial relations should exist. The time has come for both the countries to realise

the need for planning on the basis of mutual assistance in their efforts to secure political and economic stability. As steps in this direction we suggest India and Pakistan working towards an agreement to relax the policy of military preparedness in relation to each other and to encourage exchange of personnel, technical and otherwise, for nation-building activities.

It is also important that the two countries recognise the composite nature of the sub continent's culture, more specially in their attitude and dealings with the religion, language and customs of the minorities, and that they should not discriminate against any aspect of it because of political prejudices.

Goa.—Goa is geographically an integral part of India. It is regrettable, that Portugal should persist in retaining her Indian colony, though colonialism is a thing of the past. She has not even cared to respond to our request for negotiations. We note with satisfaction the commendable restraint with which India has dealt and continue to deal, with the situation.

The need for winning the confidence of all Goans is essential. Some Goans fear that India may not treat them with justice and fairplay with regard to their religion and culture. The Constitution of India provides safeguards for the religious and cultural rights of minorities. Nevertheless it is imperative that the fears of the Goans be allayed as was done in the case of the people of the former French possessions. Free movement of the people between India and Goa is desirable for better understanding. This is difficult to achieve today because of the existence of two governments which are not friendly.

China.—India and China have lived for centuries as peaceful neighbours until the recent Tibetan crisis and the border disputes caused by the present Chinese Government. The nature of China's intentions towards its neighbours, in particular to the national integrity and security of India, needs to be understood clearly.

China has shown expansionist tendencies in recent times. The late Sun Yat-sen, four decades ago, had listed at length the areas which the Chinese would reclaim. "We lost," he declared, "Korea, Formosa and Peng Fu to Japan after the Sino-Japan war, Annam to France and Burma to Britain." Besides, the Ryukyu Islands, Bhutan, Borneo, Siam and Nepal were once

Chinese tributary states. Chiang Kaishek and Mao Tse-tung had in their turn repeated claims for these areas. Realisation of China's territorial losses, Mao has said, was at the root of his political consciousness. There is, therefore, nothing surprising in her recent encroaching even against the borders of friendly countries like India.

This development, together with the Tibetan crisis and the Kerala happenings, has shaken the thinking of many about our foreign policy of non-alignment. Owing to the fear of Chinese aggression the question has been freely raised whether the time has not come to abandon this policy and enter into pacts with Western democracies. After consideration of the issues involved, we do remain firm in our conviction that both on moral grounds and pragmatic considerations it would be unwise to deviate from the present policy of non-alignment as it would only intensify the cold war and do damage to the cause of peace. However, we approve the Government's policy of combining firmness with the peaceful approach in settling border disputes. Internal economic stability, it must be admitted, is more important than military strength to meet the challenge of communism, externally and internally. This would imply increased production, just distribution and equal opportunities to all.

Ceylon.—Ceylon and India have maintained close relations bound by ties of tradition, religion and culture for several centuries. But in recent years the relations have been strained owing to the Indian immigration issue. Commenting on this, Nehru said, "There is a history behind this settlement of Indians in Ceylon. It goes far back. It is not a new matter, and because of that, the Government of Ceylon cannot dispose of it merely by saying that it is just their look-out and nobody else's".

The Indo-Ceylonese agreement of February 1954 affirms that: (1) " Both governments are determined to suppress illicit immigration traffic between the two countries and will take all possible steps, in close co-operation with each other towards that end. Periodical meetings between high police authorities on either side of the Palk Strait may be held and information relating to illicit movements exchanged. (2) The Government of Ceylon propose to undertake the preparation of a register of all adult residents who are not already on the electoral register and will

maintain such register up to date. When this registration is completed, any person not so registered, will, if his mother-tongue is an Indian language, be presumed to be an illicit immigrant from India and liable to deportation, etc."

For the sake of good relations between the two countries it is advisable to enforce the agreement systematically and effectively.

Christians can play an effective part in bringing about better relations because of the close ties that already exist between Christians of the two countries. Hundreds of Ceylonese students, both Singhalese and Tamil come to India to study in Christian institutions. Moreover, the Church of South India, the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon and the Christian international organizations such as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and S.C.M. have close relations. This presents an excellent opportunity for Christians to promote better understanding. These contacts could be developed in certain practical ways such as (1) joint study of problems of mutual concern; (2) exchange of personnel, technical or otherwise, among religious bodies even if it be on a short-term basis and (3) on student level to organise work camps in the two countries with students of both countries participating together.

Tibet.—The Chinese claim to suzerainty over Tibet, as accepted by the British Government of India, is recognised by the Government of India. However, it is felt that China has done injustice to Tibet by deliberately destroying the local autonomy in complete disregard of the understanding arrived at the Chou-Nehru meeting. While recognising the need for social reform and economic development of Tibet, the brutal liquidation and terrorisation of the Tibetan citizen is to be deplored. China should be urged to restore political autonomy and freedom of religion to Tibet and re-establish a sense of confidence and security for its citizens.

We are happy that the Indian Government has granted asylum to the Dalai Lama. We realise that this has been a cause of irritation to the Chinese. Nevertheless our sympathies are with the thousands of Tibetans and their spiritual and temporal head who have been uprooted from their homes by the Chinese action. We should endeavour to secure for the people of Tibet and the Dalai Lama their legitimate rights.

Burma.—India and Burma share a long common frontier. Friendly relations exist between the two countries. We are glad to note that there is a great measure of similarity between the two neighbours in foreign policy and their approach to economic issues. A certain amount of economic co-operation also exists. It is advisable for the two countries to co-operate in solving their common boundary problems with China.

Himalayan States.—The Himalayan States, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, of late, have assumed increased importance in view of their democratic aspiration, necessity for economic development and above all their position as buffer states between India and China. Because of suggestions in certain political quarters, for the formation of a Himalayan Federation, India's responsibility of keeping these states within its influence is paramount.

Nepal.—According to the Indo-Nepalese Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 "the two Governments undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring states likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations between them".

Bhutan and Sikkim.—Regarding these States the treaties and understandings between them and the Government of India make the latter responsible for the defence and territorial integrity of the former. Moreover external relations, specially of Sikkim, "weather political or economic or financial shall be conducted and regulated solely by the Government of India". This devolves on India a heavy responsibility.

In view of the democratic aspirations of these States India will have to be the mainstay of their economic development, so that they do not have to lean towards a totalitarian pattern of society.

Moreover, these States under the guidance of India could be associated with "the economic development of Asian countries which is so urgently necessary for the happiness and well-being of the peoples" as envisaged in the joint communique of the Colombo Powers issued in Bogar on 29th December 1954.

India's Role in Asian Affairs

India as the largest democracy in Asia has certain special responsibilities to shoulder. A role which she can and should

play is promoting democratic ideas and institutions among her neighbours and helping them to avoid recourse to totalitarian methods in solving their economic, social and political problems.

India should also consider along with her neighbours common Asian problems such as feudalism, illiteracy, lack of mature political leadership and trained personnel to carry on the administration and she should endeavour to take more vigorous steps for their solution.

The Role of Christians

The Christian ideal of organised life and society regards the state and its institutions as means for the furtherance of man's spiritual, moral and material well-being, and not *vice versa*. With the growing acceptance of the concept of a welfare state the Government has assumed a dominant role in many of the Asian countries in moulding social institutions. While we welcome the welfare state, within the context of underdeveloped countries, we as Christian citizens should ever be vigilant lest the Christian idea of the dignity of human personality is sacrificed.

The Christian contribution in the field of education and other social welfare work will promote the betterment of the peoples thereby enabling them to become better qualified to play a more effective part in the economic, political and social life of these nations. The Christian Church and organisations must continue to do this work more effectively and also find new avenues of service. Christians have a duty to encourage discriminatingly all progressive movements that stand for political, economic and social emancipation from the feudal systems. Greater effort should be made to enable Christian leaders of Asian countries to meet more often to consider seriously what kind of society they should strive for, which might be the basis of national well-being and international harmony and also to study anew their own rich heritage of prophetic religion and social tradition.

CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY IN UTTAR PRADESH IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By E. C. Bhatty, *Nagpur**

Origin and Composition

No problem of the Christian community in U.P. can be studied withou reference to its origin and composition. Historical records show tha there were Christians in U.P. even before the coming of missionarie to North India. It is understood that Nestorians had come and settle in North India even before the Moslem invasion. But they were eithe killed or converted to Islam like the Greek settlers who had survived and preserved their identity up till now. But it is only in 1811 tha we learn of the conversion of Abdul Masih a Moslem who occupie a high rank in the Court of Oudh and Anand Masih, a Brahmin convert

Converts from High Caste Hindus and Islam

In the early stages converts were drawn mainly from high cast Hindu and Moslem families of the upper social strata. The convert from these families possessed education as well as cultural background Almost all of them belonged to urban communities. There were a that time hardly any converts from the rural communities and henc there existed no social and intellectual disparity in the Christian com munity. Though there was a cognizable difference between the Hindu and Moslem cultures no conflict at any time arose between these tw sets of converts. Because of opposition and persecution from thei families none of them was able to bring any material substance alon with him, so distinction on that ground did not exist, and the cultura differences did not present any serious difficulty as everyone of th new converts tried to adjust to the new conditions. The early convert were fired with extraordinary zeal and zest for the new religion whic they considered superior to the religion of their forefathers, henc they became so deeply affected by the equalising influence of Chris tianity that they completely overlooked and forgot the minor cultura differences. It may be rightly claimed for the Christian communit that it has acted as a focal point for the fusion of Eastern and Western Hindu and Moslem cultures. The cultural pattern which the Christia

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community has evolved is a composite one which demonstrates considerable element of cultural unity.

Orphans of the Famines 1825–88

A little later another group was added to the community. This group consisted of those children and families who were rendered orphans and destitute owing to the famines of 1825 and 1837–38. For them orphanages were established at Sikandara, Agra, Fatehgarh, Kanpur, Mirzapore, Gorakhpore and other places. Finding suitable employment for the educated converts who became Christians at an earlier stage did not present any serious difficulty. They were either employed by the Mission, or in the Government as clerks. But the matter assumed really serious proportions when the number of Christians increased due to orphans gathered from the famines. The Church Missionary Society which had a number of orphanages in this province was faced with the problem of training orphans in gainful occupations. Both boys and girls were given education "to qualify them to become teachers and instructors among their countrymen". For the girls, training in handicrafts were provided. One of the C.M.S. missionaries wrote, "Spinning cotton and making baskets—even the most stupid of the children might be taught these occupations. For the products there would be steady market. More intelligent girls might make mats and fancy baskets of straw. Sewing and tailoring would be admirable as everybody in U.P. wears made clothes. The preparation of parched corn and native sweetmeats might form an honest mode of living, though perhaps not a preferable one. The rearing of poultry will be excellent and could be added to any of the others". (*Sikandra*, 1840–1940, p. 16).

For boys carpet-weaving and tent-making was started at Sikandara and Fatehgarh. Printing Presses were started at Sikandara and Allahabad. Dr. Warren (A.P. Mission), who himself was a printer wrote, "The press gathered about itself a congregation of more than 40 native Christians, some of them converts, and some from the orphan asylums. Constant efforts were made to work in all Christians who could be procured, that were at all fit for employment offered, in place of the heathen Mussalmans, who were necessarily employed at first. It afforded facility for employing enquirers."†

When the Government Press at Agra was moved to Allahabad, the C.M.S. Press at Sikandara was closed and many Christian families working in this Press moved to Allahabad where a Christian colony known as Muirabad was established.

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† *A Glance Backward at Fifteen Years of Missionary Life*, North India, p. 16.

At Fatehgarh six workmen were brought from Mirzapore to give instruction in the art of carpet-weaving. This branch of industry soon became very remunerative, the carpets and rugs being made of such good material and so well that sometimes after years of service they sold for almost their original cost. During the Mutiny of 1857 all the Mission houses, including the tent and weaving factory, the Church school buildings and houses of the Christians were destroyed.

The London Missionary Society opened their industrial plant at Mirzapore. Employment was provided for a very large number of converts as well as to boys and girls from the orphanages. S.P.G. started an industrial workshop at Kanpur.

In view of the growing economic needs of the converts, Bishop Thoburn wrote, "It is impossible to enumerate the various industries that are emphasized, because of the different conditions that must be met by the missionaries. As a rule the girls and women are taught cooking, spinning, weaving, laundry work, needle-work and embroidering, while the boys and men are instructed in carpentry, shoe-making, tailoring, book-binding, tile and brick making, agriculture and other trades".‡

Converts from Lower Castes

Until the year 1881 the number of Christians in Uttar Pradesh was very small. The Census Report shows that in 1881 the number of Christians returned was 47,673 (including Europeans and Anglo-Indians). The increase in the number of Christians represented by this figure was mainly due to the famines during 1825–81.

The following figures will show how rapidly the Christian community increased between 1891–1921:

1881	.. 47,673
1891	.. 58,518
1901	.. 1,02,955
1911	.. 1,79,694
1921	.. 2,03,179
1931	.. 2,07,879
1941	.. 2,03,286
1951	.. 1,23,876

These figures include Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

The rapid increase during this period is attributable mainly to the change in policy of the missionary societies which began to include

‡ *The Christian Conquest of India*, Bishop J. M. Thoburn.

in their programme the evangelisation of the depressed classes. Among the depressed classes that became Christians earlier were the Mazhabi Sikhs in the districts of Bijoire and Moradabad.

The growth of the community at such a tremendous rate was certainly most encouraging. The numerical strength of a group or a community is an important factor, for ordinarily it determines the social and economic status of that group or community. But this period also marked the birth of Hindu Reform Movements, and the inception and growth of communalism, which resulted in organized opposition to Christian work. One effect of this opposition was that in 1931 Census Christians in rural areas were underenumerated and many borderline Christians fell away.

In the Censuses of 1941 and 1951 also Christians were underenumerated. In 1941 some Christians in rural areas were returned under their old caste, while in 1951 a considerable number in the tribal area were enumerated under their respective tribes.

Two Main Groups

According to 1931 Census which returned 1,73,000 Indian Christians, over 1,25,000 were village Christians.

The two main groups which comprise the village Christians are (1) those whose origin is from the leather workers, (2) those whose origin is from the sweepers or Pasis. The traditional occupations they pursue are different from one another; and, therefore, their sources of income are also different. Both of these groups constitute an indispensable part of the Indian village economy. And their indispensability specially in the realm of agricultural production is recognized by higher castes. The division and subdivision and specialisation on the basis of the caste-system is the foundation of village economy. This relative arrangement is determined by the necessity of labour. There is a keen scramble for the tenants who are low caste and equally pronounced aversion to tenants who are high born. Christians as well as non-Christians having common origin follow the same traditional occupation, and are governed by the same customs and traditions in the matter of remuneration and reward. They work under what is known as Jajmani system, a kind of hereditary inter-caste service arrangement.

In spite of the excellent record of work of these groups and their indispensability in the economy of village life, the peculiar economic system which dominates the rural life in U.P. allows no scope for improvement. Their rights, remuneration and rewards are all predetermined, and they are so oppressed and suppressed that they have

no voice in the determination of their wages. They have no bargaining power. Nor under the old system do they have any scope for increasing their skill and efficiency. It is a type of serfdom which invokes pity. Efforts of the Church to improve the economic condition of rural Christians have been concentrated in institutions in urban areas. No well organized economic programme exists in the Church which will touch the rural Christian communities at vital points. Our extension programme techniques continue to be western unrelated to the genius and tempo of village Christians.

The Obligation of the Church

The Church and the Missionary Societies have not been able to do much for the village Christians for the simple reason that the number of Christians added to the Church between 1901–11 was so large that it was beyond their resources of money and personnel to make an adequate provision either for their Christian nurture or for their social and economic improvement. Up to this day village Christians are inadequately shepherded. In very few places there is for them provision for regular worship. This is one reason why Christian groups in the rural areas in U.P. have not become self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing despite the fact that they have been Christians for over sixty years. Numerical growth should be welcomed as it is the outcome of 'expectant evangelism'. Those who have become Christians from the backward classes expect the Church to do something towards their emancipation from want and destitution. It must be realized at the same time that increase in numbers involves additional obligations for the Church.

If the Church in India is to be an effective witness it must possess the real substance of the witness. It must be in proper spiritual condition to proclaim the message of salvation. Rural Christians live under socio-economic conditions which make it very difficult for them to witness to the love of God through their own life and conduct.

It must be recognized that so long as there exists a system of mission-paid workers it will not be easy to organize Churches in rural areas. Young ministers are reluctant to give up their secure mission jobs to work as pastors of village congregations. It is no use blinking the issue. The facts must be faced and suitable solutions discovered if any advance towards a self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing Church in rural areas is desired.

Punchayats and the Rural Church

Caste-Punchayats have operated as a potent weakening factor in relation to the growth of the rural Church. Among the Scheduled

astes in North India Caste-Punchayats have been a most strong and owerful influence. To this day they have retained the same degree f control upon the life of the members of the caste as they did centuries go. Punchayats work on democratic lines and are perfect in organ- ation. They bind together all those who have the same caste origin, nd are pursuing the same traditional occupation, and require protec- on from men of higher castes. It also affords protection against ny infringement of professional rights guaranteed under the Jajmani ystem. It regulates the moral and social life within the group. The ecisions of the Punchayat are obeyed by the members. Christians ontinue their membership in these Punchayats. Consequently the hurch has not succeeded in enlisting the whole-hearted support of llage Christians for a Christian programme. Their loyalties are vided. They are under what we may call a dyarchical control. ulled from either side they hang in the middle, amenable to approaches om both sides. This is a most unsatisfactory situation. It has to e admitted regretfully that the Church has not been able to provide n organization which will correspond to the Caste-Punchayat and will e as democratic and rigid in its control. The Caste-Punchayats provide rection to their members in their daily life which the Church has iled to provide. The Church leaders live at a considerable distance om their flock. Their visits are rare and their contacts so few that e Church has lost much ground. So long as the present situation ontinues there is no hope for improvement.

State Aid

Efforts are being made under the Five-Year Plans to change socio- onomic conditions in the rural areas. The village Christians, by and rge, are landless labourers. While the Government measures have ought about some improvement in the condition of the landholding rmers no visible improvement has taken place in the condition of e landless labourers. Those village Christians who have migrated large cities for employment have secured remunerative jobs. Their nilies continue to live in the villages for whose support they send oney. State aid is available for effecting improvements such as for reasing supply of milk but terms on which loans can be had are so id and difficult to fulfil that the landless labourers cannot possibly ive any benefit. They possess no material assets which they can offer security required. They do need assistance of one kind or another so t they may take advantage of the facilities offered by the State under Five-Year Plans.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF U.P. CHRISTIANS

By M. A. Z. Rolston, *Kanpur**

Historical Origin

The U.P. Christian community is the result of the efforts of foreign Christian Missions of over a century. In the beginning converts were won over from among the higher caste Hindus and Muslims. Later people came into the Christian fold mostly from the Sweepers, Doms, Chamars, Dhanuks, Khatiks and Jukheras. Others came from among the Jats and Ahirs. Some came from the Caste Hindus and Muslims and a few from among Musahirs and the criminal tribes. Group conversion played a great role in laying the foundation of the U.P. Christian community. In group conversions many accepted Christianity out of social and economic considerations rather than out of change of heart and conviction. Emancipation is a term frequently used by us for this conversion. Therefore it is necessary to examine whether the community that resulted from the emancipating efforts of the Missions did really get liberated from the old disabilities and indignities.

The group conversion movement met with success in the villages of U.P. and sometimes the majority of people in a village were baptized. Most of those who moved away from their villages to mission centres received education, had the opportunity of changing their occupations and made progress. Others who remained in the villages found themselves faced after conversion with the problems of adjusting themselves to tremendous social pressures. They not only found it difficult to adjust themselves to the non-Christians in their villages but they also found adjustment difficult amongst themselves since converts from one caste group would not accept the converts from another. Today their descendants are struggling for adjustment. Even in matters of faith they have not been cared for as well as those who migrated. However, in the villages as well as in urban centres Christian community established itself, the large bulk of which was and still is to be found in the villages of the State.

Present Condition of the Community

Christianity gave the socially and economically underprivileged masses a new community where they immediately had a new

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* Rev. Rolston is Pastor to industrial workers in Kanpur, under the United Church of Northern India. This paper was presented to the Rajpur (Dehra Dun) Consultation on the *Problems of the U.P. Christian Community*, September 1959.

status and a new life. Here was freedom from cultural and social indignities. Here was equality, brotherhood, respect and security. Christianity, without any doubt, made a great contribution and lifted the masses that accepted it from drudgery and oppression. However, when we look at the overall picture of the U.P. Christian community we find that with all the efforts made, conditions have not changed completely and prejudices remain. Habits die hard and caste distinctions crept into the community and are still lingering. These distinctions are not as strong in the urban community as in the rural Christian community, but they appear everywhere. While no distinction is made at the Lord's table, inter-dining is not openly accepted. One of the factors responsible for this is that a good section of our community remained in their old menial occupations. If a convert from among the sweepers has not changed his occupation he is accepted as a Christian only at worship and other religious ceremonies, otherwise he remains a sweeper. Even where inter-dining is accepted by all as in most urban congregational centres, caste prejudices reappear while parents or friends consider matrimonial alliances for the young people. Christians hailing from higher caste families as far as possible do not accept boys or girls from families of lower caste origin and if they accept them they do so grudgingly.

The U.P. Christian community is also broken within because of denominational divisions. The different Missions engaged in evangelism and uplift were so closely identified with the Church that they overshadowed the Church. Differentiation between the Missions and the Church was so difficult that people started thinking of the Church in terms of the Missions. Since they depended on the Missions for everything they got more attached to them than to the Church. That dependence persists to this day and the present generation also has the tendency of leaning on the Missions. This has kept the community divided and weak from within so that the possibilities of a strong independent Church seem remote. Besides, the missionaries tied to different denominations and working within the rigid denominational disciplines trained the Indian ministers for the Church who in their turn worked to promote their respective denominations. The denominations today are the legacy of the past—the sooner they go, the better ! Our clergy today, trained after the old fashion, keep harping on the denominations, forcing them on Christians who neither have denominational traditions behind them nor the training to distinguish between them, and who are not even well acquainted with the fundamentals of the faith they profess. Let alone a common order of worship intelligible to all, we are not even agreed on a common hymnal for use in our Churches and instead of working as co-partners we prefer

to work as rivals. Many a seeker is baffled by the divisions within the Church when he looks closely into the community and compares them with the many castes in Hinduism.

Economically the U.P. Christians are largely dependent on foreign Missions. The cream of the community will be found around the mission institutions since it was comparatively easier to find jobs and positions in the Christian schools, colleges, hospitals and social service projects. This has also made the Church in the State dependent on the Missions. One great harm this dependence has done is to sap the community of its competitive spirit since the Missions did not lay sufficient stress on attainment and high standards in their concern for the economic welfare of the Christians. Today when the coming of foreign funds seems insecure, our young men are turning to other avenues where they find the standards set by the Government a little too stiff. Christian institutions of U.P. are now suffering from the consequence of this practice. Our young men with moderate accomplishments are pitted against better qualified non-Christians in selection. It is also difficult to find Christian workers and administrators for our institutions. For competent men we have to look to the community in other States.

It has been mentioned that most of the converts accepted the faith out of social and economic considerations. Since the change was not based on conviction and since the converts and their descendants in the villages have not been well cared for, many in the villages have no scruples in changing back to the old forms. The Government has granted a number of benefits for the scheduled and backward classes and many village Christians from scheduled castes are giving up Christianity in order to avail themselves of those benefits. Hundreds of such village Christians are lost to the Church at the times of the census. The high sounding label 'Harijan', though it does not ameliorate the condition of the scheduled castes in any way, is also attracting many village Christians back to their previous folds. The Arya Samaj movement is also causing a number of Christians to slide back. If these trends continue and we do not pay adequate attention to our village Christians the Church is going to lose thousands of adherents in the coming years.

Ever since the beginning the community was faced with the problem of adjusting to the nonchristians who were at times hostile to us in their condemnation of conversion. The easy solution was to find a complete social life within the community itself. The result is that in general we have become isolated and we are happy in our seclusion even today. We betray this deplorable weakness even on occasions

of national festivals when we must have our own melas exclusively for Christians instead of joining with the rest of the people in celebration and festivity. This has killed the spirit of adventure in us and has reduced us to a self-centred community. If we have any economic schemes we want to execute them exclusively for Christians. Since we hesitate to share adventure and material prosperity with others we would rather ask for funds for our economic development schemes from Missions abroad than avail ourselves of the many schemes drawn up by the Government for the economic development of the country. This mentality is deplorable and makes our economic future bleak.

Our exclusiveness uprooted us from the soil and we lost touch with indigenous culture. We have always been in very close association with our missionary friends who have been our guides and benefactors. We tried to imitate them but could not do it to perfection and we lost much of what was our own. It has cut us adrift from the main stream of our national life. We cannot claim to have any particular language and we cannot define the pattern of culture we have. On the whole our expression in the English we learnt is unproficient and our command in the mother tongue is extremely poor. Our worship is full of western elements that do not appeal to nonchristians. We glory in the western mode of worship that has been adopted everywhere in our Churches. For us the western musical instruments alone are worthy of producing sacred music and the tabla and sitar violate the very sanctity of the house of God. We prefer to sing western hymns imperfectly with unwanted drags and slurs rather than Bhajans and Ghazals that we can sing so well and joyfully. The onlooker doubts whether we belong to the Indian soil at all.

Politically the U.P. Christians are immature and wherever there is a slight political consciousness it is misdirected into wrong channels. Aloofness and wrong emphasis in our training are responsible for our indifference to many requirements of citizenship. It does not mean that we are bad citizens; it means that we are passive and ignorant of our Christian responsibilities. Christianity is dynamic and it ought to have its impact on society, but it will not have the impact so long as we are passive and indifferent to the crucial social issues of our times. This indifference is also a legacy of the past. We have been taught to regard politics as dirty and dangerous. Conditions have changed but Christians have not. We are indifferent to the extent of not valuing our voting privilege. While our Church elections are all important to us, we do not even care to check the electoral rolls to ensure our voting rights at the time of civic elections. Our ministers are also indifferent in this matter. Those of us who have a little political

consciousness are inclined, with a few exceptions, to form political parties on communal lines instead of joining hands with the progressive political parties in the country. Our fear of conflicts in the Church due to political affiliations of the Christians is baseless, for our unity is in Jesus Christ.

Conclusion

The sketch is probably more alarming than it is intended to be. One thing is clear that we seriously lack Christian social action in our community and as such we cannot claim to be very progressive. What we need is a comprehensive social education programme for our community. We need to be educated in order to realize that whatever concerns man and his welfare is the concern of the Church and the Christian. The Church or the Christian can never be neutral over any issue, however controversial, that affects the moral rights, economic prosperity and spiritual well-being of the people. We need to know India's cultural pattern better and need to know our faith better in order to help to mould our national culture and bring it into closer conformity with the Christian values. Social education and Christian social action should be the normal responsibilities of every Christian so that we may work for the extension of the rule of Christ in the affairs of men and nations. We cannot ignore the forces that make for inequality, poverty, insecurity, exploitation and social injustice. We should do our utmost to remove disabilities and prejudices. We should be vigilant in relation to our freedom and our civic rights and co-operate with all men of good will in building the common life of the nation. Christians should be well informed about important social issues in order that they may make correct decisions, and while making decisions they should remember that the clue to what is right is not to be found in popular opinion or personal or communal interest but in the will of God as it is revealed in Jesus Christ.

Rajpur Consultation Findings

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE U.P. CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Under the auspices of the Ecumenical Study Commission of the National Christian Council of India, the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society and the Christian Retreat and Study Centre, Rajpur, a Christian Study Consultation was held at the Rajpur Centre from 12th to 16th September 1959. The purpose of the Consultation was " to survey the political, economic and social problems facing the Christian Community in the United Provinces and define the main issues and a Christian approach to them in the light of the Christian understanding of State and Society".

*The reports presented here express the general consensus of thinking of the Consultation. Statements indicating observations and conclusions are tentative. The reports must be taken only as a starting point for further study. Comments and criticisms are therefore welcome.**

I. Political Life

Historical Background.—The establishment of the Indian Christian Association (I.C.A.) in 1892 in Kanpur marked the beginning of the U.P. Christians as a community conscious of its civic rights and interests. Branches of the I.C.A. were set up in the major cities of the State which were integrated into the U.P. Christian Association. Since its inception it has dealt with problems pertaining to the social, economic and political life of the community. On occasions it made effective representation to the government on matters relating to the interests of the community, *e.g.*, government aid was secured for rural Christians in the year 1934. In the purely political field it mobilized opinion within the community in support of the national freedom movement. It denounced over the years communalism and communal representation as detrimental to national interest, and played an important and acknowledged role in bringing about communal peace and harmony. Its non-communal attitude and objective approach

* For fuller report and list of participants *see* elsewhere.

earned it the confidence both of the government and the other communities.

This positive and constructive phase was regrettably weakened by the development of internal dissensions and the subsequent setting up of the Laymen's Association which was highly critical of some of the actions of 'missionaries' in the State. Sponsored and promoted by such individuals who either felt discriminated against, disciplined or dismissed, or were unhappy about the privileges and opportunities that the 'missionaries' conferred on others the movement tended to minimize the importance of the valid criticism against the structure of the missionary organization. By their exaggerated and at times unfair propaganda carried on through public press and platform the dissenting element not only split the I.C.A. but also had adverse effect on the unity of the community dividing it between what came to be described as the Mission Party and the Laymen's Party. This weakened the activities of the I.C.A. which was a unifying force and virtually converted it for a period into an arena of struggle for power between the two rival groups. In retrospect we feel that the dissenting element despite its somewhat irresponsible anti-missionary pronouncements had legitimate grievances, not entirely unrelated to the attitude of superiority of some 'missionaries' and the discriminatory action of others. The Mission Party was also responsible for weakening the I.C.A. by its negative attitude and subsequent withdrawal from the membership of the Association just at the time of the critical pre-Independence period. We regret to note that this rift between so-called 'mission' and 'independent' groups, continues even today and is seriously affecting the constructive functioning of the I.C.A. in this important formative period of the life of the country. At this time when the nation and the community are confronted with manifold problems, measures should be taken so that the community is enabled to play a positive and constructive role in the national life that we firmly believe it still has.

The Contemporary Political Scene (1950–59).—Since the I.C.A. became inoperative, there was no effective general political activity in the community except for their participation in the two elections in the country.

While we are handicapped for want of adequate data regarding voting behaviour during the elections, a general picture of the

way in which franchise was exercised by Christians in urban and rural areas of the State may be drawn. There was very little uniformity in the extent of votes cast in different urban areas. In Kanpur for example, the middle-class educated Christian community remained indifferent, for no adequate reason, to voting, whereas in Allahabad and Lucknow participation was reported to have been satisfactory. The Christians in the rural areas on the other hand have shown greater interest and concern for their voting right. Both in urban and rural areas they were compelled to some extent by a number of pressures, among them the more important ones being:

(i) the hope of benefit in future;

(ii) financial inducement;

(iii) the promise of special privileges and favours from the party in power;

(iv) direct guidance of Christian leaders in some areas.

A section of the community (it is difficult to specify the percentage), however, failed to exercise their voting right. The discussion revealed that the following reasons could be attributed to their abstention:

(i) the incomplete electoral rolls;

(ii) political indifference manifested in their failure to check up electoral rolls;

(iii) expectations of transport facilities.

It is not possible to make any accurate comment regarding the responsible exercise of the franchise, yet it can be said in a general way that voters did show a reasonable degree of understanding in some constituencies while in others the voting was either unintelligent or for wrong motivation.

We are strongly of the opinion that the Christian voters, considering the very low level of literacy and fairly low level of political consciousness should not be left unguided and uninstructed in this matter of vital concern; that ways and means should be devised through available Christian agencies to: (*a*) provide a fellowship to the more politically conscious members of the

entire community including the Roman Catholics; (*b*) provide political education to Christians of all levels in urban and rural areas.

We stress that such political education should be positively based on Christian principles emphasizing the democratic way of life. The other criteria that need emphasis are: (*a*) national interest as against linguistic, provincial, zonal and sectarian interests; (*b*) social and economic justice.

In view of the patent need of political education of the community as a basic responsibility, we discussed the desirability or otherwise of starting an independent Christian organization which could deal with and advise on political issues. We are of unanimous opinion that in the context of our national life and the democratic secular constitution of the country, it would be detrimental and indeed dangerous to set up a political party on communal lines, and yet it thinks it feasible to provide a platform for the expression and mobilization of Christian public opinion on all matters of national and State import. It will also deal with other matters affecting the social and economic interests of the Christian community within the context of national development through existing Christian institutional bodies.

We believe that such a Christian organization to safeguard and promote the economic and social interests of our community, the vast majority of whose members belong to the lowest strata of the Indian society, would not be against the national interest; on the contrary, such efforts towards improvement of the condition and status of the community will be an integral part of the national development programme and a contribution to the fulfilment of the ideals towards which our nation is now striving. We must not therefore be unduly apprehensive of adverse opinion, for the organization will finally be judged by how constructive and positive its policy and work have been in actual practice.

We feel that the present composition of the U.P. Christian Council with the 'missionaries' in it and it's not being fully representative of all the Churches in the State, place limitations upon its ability to discharge such a function. At the same time the U.P.C.C. should assume an educative role in this respect.

Methods of Promoting Participation.—In view of the above we feel prompted to make the following observations:—

1. (*a*) That the U.P.C.C. through its Committee on Civic Life take steps to plan and develop a programme of educating Christians on social, economic and political problems to enable them to exercise their citizenship with better understanding and responsibility. That this Committee also include if possible representatives of Churches not affiliated to it and other individuals whose experience and help could be of profit to it.

(*b*) That the possibility of resuscitating the I.C.A. and of revising its aims so as to make them consonant with the felt needs of the community and the nation be seriously explored.

(*c*) That the Churches through their committees of social responsibility and Christian institutions, such as colleges, Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s, Christian Retreat and Study Centre, etc., should take up at their respective levels the study and promotion of responsible Christian citizenship.

(*d*) That the vitality of the community will largely depend upon the number of independent and informed lay study and action groups.

2. Relevant literature pertaining to political parties, *e.g.*, their manifestoes, and reports of deliberations of various Christian study consultations and conferences should be made available to Christians at different levels. While this would involve sizeable administrative machinery we consider it worthwhile as a means to achieve our objective. We feel that this is the only way to overcome the present lag between the enlightened politically conscious and the less fortunately placed members of the community and to achieve equal partnership in common Christian venture.

State and Education.—We discussed the recently enacted Education Act controlling selection and appointments of principals and teachers of colleges and schools and approves the principle of limited State control in education for the sake of efficiency of the institutions and security of tenure of the teaching staff as an essential feature of the modern Welfare State. However, it views with apprehension the room the Act provides for greater interference in selection and appointments of staff which may seriously restrict democratic and Christian interests and interfere with the

freedom guaranteed to all religious minorities under the Constitution. Under the circumstances we should seek an amendment or modification of the clauses of the Act relating to management so as to ensure autonomy for the managing committees in this important matter, at the same time accepting the statutory academic qualifications in each category of appointment. We also insist that Government should deal with educational institutions in all matters through a Board of Education consisting of educationalists of repute.

Minority Psychology.—The community should be on the alert to observe any symptom of minority psychology developing within it, and its corresponding reaction in the psychology of the majority community, both of which tend to harden and take deep roots. We feel that since the majority community is generally unmindful of this tendency it is our duty to study the situation and seek to secure effective safeguards against it.

Such a study should include:

(*a*) The question whether the reactions in the two communities with regard to social, economic and political matters are normal or otherwise;

(*b*) The inquiry into the reasons for the frequently displayed negative and timid attitude on the part of Christians even in the face of gross injustice and violation of their rights of citizenship;

(*c*) The attempt to understand the psychology underlying the tendency of the majority group to make scape-goats of minorities in cases of conflicts. Further to expose and report such cases and their causes in order to avoid frustration, sense of insecurity and tension between the communities.

We disapprove the suggestion sometimes made of entering into a Minority Pact with other communal groups as a way of circumventing the tendency, conscious or unconscious, towards discrimination and oppression by the majority. Such a step will be narrow and communal and therefore detrimental to national interests, besides provoking reactions in the majority community. On the other hand, ways and means should be sought to educate the majority community through information, discussion and by

appealing in specific situations to their goodwill, their spirit of patriotism and above all to their sense of justice.

There is need of a committee of specialists, including both Christians and non-Christians, which will study the problem of communal tensions in the State and suggest various means by which such tensions can be avoided.

II. Economic Life

Approach.—Economic questions cannot be examined in isolation. There is a clear relationship and interdependence between the economic, the social, the political and the spiritual. Thus we have to stray into the social and spiritual realms while struggling to grapple with the economic elements of the life of our community. Over and over again we were led to conclude that certain economic disabilities stem from social conditions, acquired behaviour patterns and attitudes and lack of faith in God. For example, we feel that unemployment in certain sections of the community is due not so much to a lack of training and opportunities as to a lack of the right attitudes. Consequently the suggested solutions may at times appear more non-economic in complexion and content.

We feel very strongly that our economic deficiencies reflect a crisis of the spirit, a lack of faith and an absence of vision and sense of mission. No programme or plan of economic development will be worth the paper it is put on, unless and until we put Christ at its very centre and bring to bear upon it consecrated wills and dedicated efforts.

Economic development should be fitted into an overall framework of Christian life. There should be a difference between economic development and Christian economic development. Development is not an end in itself; it is rather the means for strengthening the witnessing potential of the Christian community. We have to examine and judge economic questions from a humanitarian angle, but we cannot stop there. If we feel that economic well-being will strengthen the material fibre of the community, we also feel that such strengthening will develop its spiritual and moral sinews, give to it much needed integration and enable it to make a more effective impress on the economic, political and social life of the nation. As a Christian community we have to

make a contribution to national economic development. This we can do by introducing spiritual values in the secular concept of the State. In this sense, economic development of the Christian community is a prerequisite to relating our efforts to the life of the nation. It also follows that if economic progress gives us a sense of independence, it does not isolate us from Christian action but makes us more effective instruments. For outside of Christ we have no independence. Material well-being for its own sake has little meaning for the Christian community. We would grow economically in order that we may grow spiritually. The ecumenical idea will lose nothing of its richenss if our Churches become economically independent.

Our analysis is largely critical in nature. That does not mean that our condition is hopelessly distressing. Self-analysis is necessary to find suitable remedies for our ills. But we have a quiet optimism about the future of our community.

One significant economic peculiarity of our community is that we tend to live beyond our means and are thus prisoners of an artificial standard of life. This characteristic seems to hold true for all sections of the community. Its ill-effects are, however, more prominently visible in the poorer sections. What could be responsible for this pattern wherein requirements always exceed resources? To some extent the prevalent structure of status relationship in our country may be a reason. Display, conspicuous consumption and wasteful expenditure have been signs of high status. May be in the changeover from traditional ways to new ways we have been tempted to acquire the external habiliments of status and position without possessing the means to do so. It may also be that the 'demonstration effect' of the western missionary's way of life has reached down to the economically weakest sections of the community *via* the better-off 'nationals'. In every society there is a natural tendency to imitate the ways of living of that section which has leadership. The 'missionary' was the leader of the Christian community and his ways of life influenced those of the mission compound people and through them of the others. Perhaps the first cause has more influence in the rural set-up and the second in the mission compounds and the urban set-up. A heavy responsibility rests on the economically better-off sections to correct prevailing artificiality. They should

release demonstration influences working for simplicity and a solvent standard of living.

We have discussed three aspects of the economic question. First, what is the nature of economic problem in different areas of work? Second, what are the causes of economic weaknesses? Third, what concrete suggestions for improvement can be given?

The Urban Community

We discussed the urban community under two heads: (*a*) Churches and Church workers; (*b*) Church members, not working in mission enterprises (to be called 'independents' hereafter).

Church and Church Workers.—The economic condition of the Church (in the narrow sense of the term) and full-time Christian workers in urban centres is fairly satisfactory though not quite what it should be. In most instances, in the larger Church denominations (Methodists, Anglicans, U.C.N.I.) the salary and allowances of the pastor and the maintenance and upkeep of Church building and equipment is met from locally raised funds. For example, the Anglican Churches pay an assessment to a central fund of the Diocese, out of which pastors are paid salaries and institution subsidies. It would be good if other groups also thought in terms of centralized funds and payments. Such a practice would be conducive to the health of Churches. Where the pastor's salary comes directly from locally raised money a difficulty may arise. Dissatisfied sections of the Church membership (and which Church does not have them?) may not meet their financial commitments to the Church whenever they have real or imaginary grievances against the pastor. This will always leave an element of economic insecurity for the pastor. We would like regular grades and scales of pay to be introduced for full-time Church workers. If payments are made from a centralized fund, this is easier to implement.

At the moment the urban Church has very limited outreach. Only a few financially strong Churches (for example, Jamna Church, Allahabad and Central Methodist Church, Lucknow) support rural evangelists and finance a limited social work programme within their jurisdiction. Thus in terms of the overall needs of Christian service, the economic position of the urban Church is not strong. In a limited geographical and functional sense it is not too bad

but much needs to be done. It is necessary that a strong sense of Church responsibility be developed in the urban community, so that they shoulder bigger economic burdens. On the whole the trends in urban areas are encouraging. There is a keenness to do more, acquire greater self-reliance and increase the range of work.

Churches belonging to smaller denominations are totally or largely foreign-supported.

One aspect of our Church organization which represents a basic economic weakness is the 'top-heavy' administrative structure. Considering our economic limitations we must evolve new organizational patterns which would be less expensive and more relevant to the changing conditions. We may not be wrong in thinking that an unwieldy organizational structure handicaps effective witnessing and generates economic tensions within the community. While trying to reduce inequalities it is easier to bring down than to raise up. If we are really convinced that the top-heavy administration does not suit current conditions we have to bring it down a little. In a psychological sense bringing down of the upper strata tantamounts to raising up the lower. Poverty is a relative term. When the richer are less rich, the poorer feel less poor. The process of raising up the weaker section is a long-term process requiring sweat and toil, while that of reducing the inordinately high incomes of the fortunate few can be done quicker. But we do not recommend the bringing down procedure on the ground of expediency or quick results but on the ground of fairness, nor do we minimize the importance of the more positive step of raising up the weaker section.

The present income level of urban pastors and other Church workers is not satisfactory and leaves much room for improvement. A stable solution lies in strengthening Church finances.

'*Independent*' *Workers.*—This term has a special meaning for the Christian community in U.P. Those who are working in non-mission services are called 'independents' to indicate that they are no longer dependent upon 'mission' funds. It is thought that having escaped from the mission's power to hire and fire they can take an independent stand on questions relating to Church and community life. The special value-connotation of this term

reflects the deep-seated urge of many to achieve self-reliance. In his backdrop the term almost becomes a badge of honour.

The problems of the better-off sections of such workers is more social and psychological than economic. Their attitude of superiority over the mission-worker, their negative approach to Church and community affairs, their tendency to consider economic independence as release from Christian responsibility represent disturbing trends. The fact that self-reliance leads them away from the Church can be used as an argument against self-support. Our economically independent brethren must recognize this, find their independence in Christ and serve as worthy pioneers in the movement towards greater self-reliance.

The poorer section of independent workers looks with envy on their mission-supported counterparts. They would like scholarships for their children's education, sickness benefits, etc. The Church must therefore view the problem of needs in its totality. If persons in a certain income bracket are considered needy there should be no discrimination between mission-workers and independents. Perhaps it is time that the Church thought in terms of a social insurance programme for some of its members.

Recently there has been a steadily growing migration of rural Christians to urban centres in search of jobs. The problem of finding jobs, assimilating these people within the urban community and catering to their spiritual and psychological needs are new tasks for the urban Church. At present we have no means for meeting such needs. But something must be done and that soon.

Rural Community

The rural Church and Church workers present a less encouraging picture. Workers are poorly paid, weak in qualification and witnessing potential, apathetic towards their duties and responsibilities and accustomed to dependence on outside help. This is an area where foreign help is the life-line. The rural community lacks a sense of responsibility towards the economic needs of the Church. While this is partly due to failure of leadership it is largely due to the availability of foreign help. The congregation finds no need to assist the Church finance when they see that adequate help is available from other sources. Does this mean that if foreign

help is stopped, the congregation would suddenly become alive to its responsibilities? Who can say! It will certainly not be an overnight change. Time, determined effort and dedicated leadership are necessary before they can be mobilized into action.

It is noticeable that the rural Church workers prefer to be 'Mission' employee rather than Church-supported because there is greater security in the former relationship. This is a regressive trend that needs to be arrested. Ministers should be challenged to enter the service of the Church in this sphere in the faith that the 'Church' will support them.

The inadequacy of local contributions may be attributed to the following factors:

(i) A good part of rural giving is in kind—grain, eggs, etc. This is not recorded and is traditionally looked upon as a gift to the pastor rather than to the Church.

(ii) The congregation lacks a sense of Church responsibility. Tithing is not known, or if known, not appreciated.

(iii) They have neither seen nor sensed the need to give to their Church, as they find that resources are always available.

(iv) The bulk of the congregation is more accustomed to receiving from the mission (through the Church worker) and hence look upon giving as secondary, if not, altogether unimportant.

(v) In any case, the present structure is so top-heavy that the rural congregation can hardly support it.

Group Converts.—The economic position of this section is extremely disquieting and causes serious concern. They are a depressed and undeveloped section of the Christian community in the full sense of the term. The process of group conversion remained shockingly incomplete. Without adequate preparation for the new life people were baptized and in most cases that was the end of the story. A change of label leads neither to a change of hearts nor to a change of conditions—else all our problems would be easy to solve. Active and sustained Christian effort was necessary to really bring these people into the Church. We as a community stand condemned for failing in our responsibilities.

The converts continued in general in their old patterns. Within the rural socio-economic system they remained where they were. Conversion to Christianity only made available new patrons. In those few cases where some converts shifted to the mission-compound they lost old productive skills and had to be fitted into service jobs. Most of these made a kind of progress. But those who remained in the village grew weaker socially, economically and spiritually. During the last century we had time, opportunity and resources to rehabilitate them. That we have failed to do so will remain a blot on the whole Christian enterprise in these areas. Total rehabilitation is a tremendous task today. Some of us feel that for social and economic emancipation and development of human personality it is necessary to provide alternative forms of work to some classes. For example, the sweeper converts should be given other work besides scavenging because this work engenders feelings of inferiority in them and invites the contempt of other sections of society. We have to understand dignity of work in a broader sense. Whatever kind of work stunts social development and handicaps self-expression and growth is for that reason not dignified. If social stigma attaches to a specific work or a special technique of work we have to change the technique or change the work to release the operatives from psychological and sociological bondages. Tilling of land is dignified work because no stigma attaches to it. Scavenging work by the sweeper is not dignified in this sense.

Rehabilitation calls for careful thought and planning. We must introduce forms of co-operative enterprise which may utilize the traditional skills of these people and give them an alternative source of livelihood so that they may break away from the old economic system and secure a meaningful place in the new. Even as it is, the abolition of Zamindari has upset the erstwhile balance of the rural economic and social system. The group conversion Christians are adversely affected by it. They have in many cases drifted away from or lost old means of livelihood and have failed to find suitable substitutes.

But before introducing co-operation the people must be shaken out of their inertia and educated in the essentials of co-operation. Without proper nurture and preparation, co-operation is not likely to succeed.

3. *Institutions*

In terms of financial stability the educational institutions appear to be satisfactorily placed. Their income comes from fees, government grants and 'mission' contributions. Most of these institutions can continue even if mission-grants decline or cease. There may be a brief period of transitional strain but the difficulty does not appear insurmountable. Few, if any, institutions have endowment funds. Thus there exists a sense of insecurity about the 'mission'-grant available at the moment. It would be advisable to have some endowments for supporting institutional work. But such endowments should be in a central fund from which the total needs of Christian work, evangelistic, educational, social, medical, etc., could be met. In general, our institutions, by virtue of the prominent place they have in the Christian set-up, tend to become ends in themselves rather than means for Christian service and propagation of the Gospel. We must correct this tendency.

As regards medical work and social work, the degree of dependence on 'mission'-grant is much greater. In fact, their continuation in present forms depends almost entirely on availability of help from the 'mission'. Some of the medical units have been criticised for becoming commercial in outlook. Such criticism seems in certain cases at least to be due to a misunderstanding of efforts at self-support and more efficient service. But if there is any truth in the ciriticism, then they have lost their service motive and do not fit into the overall programme of Christian work. This prompts us to suggest that we examine seriously whether such programmes should be continued in face of growing financial difficulties on the one hand and increasing expansion of similar government-sponsored programmes on the other. Our social work programme is very unstable as it depends wholly on overseas initiative and support. We do not know of any Church in U.P. that has a social work programme. This indicates that the present foreign-supported programmes do not arise out of the life of the local Church and do not therefore reflect our social conscience.

If, however, the idea of setting up a central endowment fund in India is accepted and necessary action taken, these very useful

forms of Christian service and witness could be continued with greater stability and effectiveness.

4. *Unemployment*

With regard to the problem of unemployment in the community, our position is parallel to conditions prevailing in the country, *i.e.*, growing urban unemployment and disguised unemployment in the rural areas.

The following seem to be the main causes of unemployment. There is the defective educational system which does not equip persons for jobs in India's changing economy. Within the Christian institution it is becoming increasingly difficult to absorb Christians. Purely on academic merit, our young people do not stand comparison with non-Christians. Then again in the pre-Independence days certain areas like railways, postal service and government press gave preference to Christians. Today there are no such privileges. In every field we have to contend with a rapidly qualifying non-Christian group. For example, in the fields of women's education, nursing, etc., very few non-Christian girls entered in the past. Today their numbers are increasing and our educated girls do not find jobs as easy to secure as before. Temperamentally the Christian youth has been less ambitious and enterprising, cannot put in sustained, consistent effort and is interested in a limited area of work. With overcrowding in the white-collar areas, it is natural that employment prospects are none too rosy if not altogether bleak.

A striking feature of the economic life of the community is represented by the 'working wives'. In most cases they work because their husbands' income is inadequate to maintain the standard to which they are accustomed. This presents problems of family life, care and upbringing of children, sharing of the husbands' work, etc. Most of its implications are social in nature.

Causes for Economic Weaknesses.—The following are the important causes of the economic weaknesses of the U.P. Christian community:

(1) The existing pattern of help from Western Churches. We strongly feel that this is one of the basic causes of our economic ills because it has undermined self-reliance.

To accept this pattern is to accept stagnation and postpone our development indefinitely. No matter which economic weakness we were analysing, at some point we came up against the adverse influences of foreign help.

(2) Lack of a sense of community. We do not have the cohesiveness which other minority groups like the Sikhs, the Parsees or the Jains have. As such most of our thought and action is 'I-centred' rather than 'we-centred'. Even the group movement of conversion appears to have been an 'I-centred' movement with each family thinking of its limited interests and what it could get. Within the Christian community we have basic sociological problems of caste and class which work against harmony and oneness.

(3) Lack of the right kind of general education to adjust to the changing pattern of society. Our religion has been described as 'other-worldly', and our community as unconcerned, out of things, artificial and so on—with a certain measure of truth.

(4) A traditional conservatism which breeds a false sense of adequacy and a fear of the unknown. This is often responsible for our negative and complacent attitude.

(5) Failure to deal with the problems of the group conversion movement which has left large sections of the rural community "between two worlds, one dead and the other powerless to be born".

(6) Failure of our leadership at most points. The 'missionaries' introduced a pattern which served the needs of a particular period but is not too responsive to changing conditions. Their Indian successors on the whole find this pattern convenient and cosy and are averse to change. Pastors, teachers and social workers have often failed in their responsibilities.

5. *Relation to National Development*

As we think about our economic development, it is extremely important that we formulate such programme as will lead us into the main stream of economic development. We have emphasized

that the problem of economic development is fundamentally a question of right attitudes and spirit. Recent pronouncements by the Government of India on the working of Community Development projects seem to recognise the importance of right attitudes. The limited success of Community Development is rightly attributed to a lack of public enthusiasm, and absence of development consciousness and an indifference to co-operative endeavour. In this setting the Christian programme of economic development may serve as a model. If we can introduce co-operative action in various forms and work them successfully through dedicated and selfless effort we will definitely release healthy influences. In that sense we can serve as pioneers for the rest of the country. It is interesting to note that Christian education, Christian medical service and Christian social work were and still are models for similar action under State and other auspices. Perhaps the challenge which we face in New India is to present Christian co-operative action as a model co-operative activity for the whole country. This is a challenge and an opportunity.

In the rural sector there seems to be scope for fruitful co-operative action in terms of service co-operatives, industrial estates, co-operative credit societies and even co-operative farming. In the group conversion areas it is necessary to find suitable alternative occupations for people. It is also necessary to impress the desirability of co-operative action for the betterment of their economic condition. Co-operation is a combination of the weak to improve their position. The weaknesses in the economic life of our rural community make it a natural setting for co-operative action. However, before action is taken the people must be educated in the co-operative processes. Only after developing the spirit of co-operation can we expect favourable results. Government agencies will be willing to help us run various programmes of co-operation. We would thus become a part of the overall programme of co-operation to which the Indian economy is becoming increasingly committed.

Cottage industries of various types should also be introduced in such a manner as to put the inherent skill of these people to their optimum use and provide them more dignified methods of livelihood.

The problem of the landless Christians needs special attention. Now that ceilings on landholdings will soon be fixed it may be

possible to secure some land for the use of these people. We must be on the look out for suitable opportunities. Wherever possible we should experiment with co-operative farming and assume leadership in this new venture.

The problem of the migrant and transient worker who is moving from rural areas to cities requires careful consideration. As the tempo of industrialization increases the numbers of such workers will rapidly increase. Our urban leadership should prepare a plan for meeting the needs of this special group. If necessary some organization may be set up which can supply information regarding opportunities of employment, etc. Present trends indicate that this group can be made the nucleus of a strong and effective independent, inter-denominational urban congregation. We must anticipate such possibilities and be ready for them. We are glad to note that a Committee of Christian Industrial Service has already been set up.

We also feel the need for introducing certain schemes of social insurance, such as old age benefits, sickness insurance, etc., for the ministers of our community. The U.C.N.I. has some plan in this connection.

6. *Observations*

1. In our analysis the lines have perhaps been drawn too harshly, thus presenting an unbalanced picture. But conscious as we are of our numerous deficiencies, we are also conscious of certain points of strength of our community and feel that a process of real development can be begun by building on them. Within the community there is growing awareness of our problems and our opportunities and more constructive thinking on these. Our leadership (with all its faults) is well educated and enlightened; the youth have a forward looking attitude. Even our worst critics acknowledge our liberal outlook, lack of narrow provincialism and ability to adapt ourselves to new conditions. We can thus adjust more constructively to the new patterns of social, economic and political life in the country. Given a worthwhile objective and inspiring leadership it should be possible for our community to make rapid progress.

2. A comprehensive socio-economic survey of our community should be conducted, on the basis of which a long-term plan of

development and reorganization can be drawn. It would be helpful to use the study group method of survey. Local study groups may be formed and supplied with study materials in advance so as to prepare themselves to engage in intelligent and constructive conversation with the survey committee. It would be more practicable to have surveys on local or denominational basis.

3. The Churches should sponsor youth programmes to confront its young people with the burning problems of the community. Education for development is as important as, perhaps more important than, a blue-print for development. The prospective leaders of our community must be made development-conscious.

4. Vocational guidance can help in preparing young people for suitable responsibilities in life.

5. Where individuals or groups of Christians feel the call of God to economic witness involving life in intentional or voluntary "communities" (*i.e.*, ashrams and the like), we suggest that Church authorities give encouragement to them. Such a call is likely no doubt to come to the few, but other Christians may well find value in linking themselves to such communities or ashrams as associates or third order members.

6. Change in the existing pattern of foreign help is a *must*. We suggest the following modifications: (*a*) setting up of a Central Endowment Fund in each denomination (till such time as a wider Church Union is achieved) from the earnings of which some of our ongoing programmes can be financed. The form of these funds should be chosen with care so as to safeguard against adverse effects of price inflation. Moreover the whole pattern of the Central Endowment Fund should be such as to encourage individual giving rather than discourage it. (*b*) Transfer of 'mission' properties to an Indian Trust. Institutional buildings and properties should not be handed over to institutions concerned but belong to a Central Trust, so that nationalization of education may not lead to loss of these assets. (*c*) An elaborate programme of steadily decreasing foreign support and steadily raising local support should be drawn up in such a way that after a specified period, our foreign dependence may cease. (*d*) 'Mission'-grants should as far as possible be applied to developmental expenditure either in the shape of income-earning investments or technical and

professional training centres which can equip our youth to find gainful employment in the new conditions.

7. The Christian community both urban and rural should take to co-operative effort. The desirability of setting up an institution for training co-operative workers should be seriously considered. The role of co-operatives in the economic development of our community is, in fact, an excellent subject for study and survey.

8. As a community we must acquire a sense of responsibility towards the economic needs of the Church. The giving habit must be built up through a process of education. Tithing is a goal worth trying for.

The basic solution of our difficulties is a change of spirit. We must return to God. This sounds platitudinous. But that is because we have reduced God to a mere platitude. The group feels that spiritual resurgence is the key to all our problems for we believe that when we seek God all these things will be added unto us.

III. Social and Cultural Life

Origin of the U.P. Christian Community.—The great State of Uttar Pradesh has been from the beginning of history the most important region for the Hindus. The Christian Church in this region is comparatively very young. There are historical records of individual missionaries who came to this part of the country before the 19th century but the actual history of the Church is not more than 175 years old. This is the period when conversions began. The earlier individual converts were mostly from among the Muslims and the upper caste Hindus. Thus the foundation of the Church was laid in a region which was highly charged by Hindu religion and Islamic culture.

After some time the Church started schools, hospitals and orphanages which became important institutional centres of evangelism. Many orphans and those who became destitutes during periods of famine embraced Christianity.

The third phase of the Church in U.P. is characterized by what is called the mass movement. Due to the joint-family, caste stratification and village community, groups rather than individuals became Christians. Most of these converts were from the lower

castes and outcastes. To most of these depressed classes, the social gospel of Christ had a special appeal. We now find that a large majority of the U.P. Christians are people from this group.

In this context we should try to understand the present social condition of the U.P. Christians. For many the Church meant refuge, personal security and protection. This idea of protection and security was further strengthened by the creation of mission-compounds, specially in the urban areas. These mission-compounds no doubt provided security to some Christian families, but they were socially isolated from other Indians. This created a cultural vacuum which was filled consciously or unconsciously by the cultural elements of the western missionaries. At that time, religion and culture appeared identical.

Caste and Social Distance.—Caste differences are evident among the Christians, particularly in the rural areas. For example, Christians with Chamar background avoid inter-dining and inter-marriage with the Christians of sweeper-origin as much as possible. Hence social interaction is limited. Many examples of this can be found in the districts of Moradabad, Meerut, Farrukhabad, etc. Where such Christians have migrated to urban areas, they have carried with them the characteristics of their castes. In urban areas the change if any is due to their new social environment and social status, so much so that it is difficult to trace their origin.

The rural Christians are still governed by their caste or biradari Panchayat in regard to their social, economic and moral problems. The Panchayat Chowdhry is looked upon as leader, philosopher and guide. Due to his personal abilities and status in the Panchayat he exerts great deal of control in matters of marriage, birth, death and other rituals. The Panchayat has definite rules for the group relating to its economic, social and religious life. And any person found guilty of violation of Panchayat rules is penalized. Such penalty is in the form of money, feast to the biradari and for incorrigable people ostracism. Therefore Christians take many of the disputes to the Panchayat rather than to the Church courts. Hence they are torn between their loyalty to biradari and the Church.

In urban areas, Christians take more advantage of the Church at the time of baptisms, marriages and deaths.

The Impact of Non-Christian Customs.—In the rural areas Christians still follow many Hindu customs. In some instances Christians have continued the Bhounri (going round the sacred fire) at the time of marriage after which the pastor may also be invited to marry the couple according to Christian rites. The *chhatti* ceremony is also observed by almost all Christians. At the time of death it is not unknown for sweets be thrown at the time of funeral and feasts be given in memory of the deceased which is very much like *Shraddha*. The keeping of *chutiya* is not entirely unknown among the Christians. In some homes clay idols are kept and *swastika* is painted on the walls. On the day of non-Christian festivals like Holi, Divali, Dussehra and Shabe-brat, Christians participate in the celebration.

In the urban areas, non-Christian customs cannot be said to have no influence. They are observed to a limited extent. There are, *e.g.*, certain practices at the time of marriage such as treating the bride's body with temeric, demanding money from the groom, etc. The *khirachatai* ceremoney, *i.e.*, serving the child with cereals for the first time is observed by some parents, though very few attach any religious importance to it. There are various other rituals which are observed by the urban Christians but they are observed only with the purpose of intensifying family interest.

Marriages are solemnized in the Church as a rule, though now in very rare cases people have gone to court for their wedding. Gifts are given to the various members of the family according to non-Christian traditions, but they are only an act of recognizing one's obligation towards each other. There are certain other symbols and material objects used to bring luck and prosperity to the newly wedded couple, which are the relic of the superstitious beliefs of the past.

There are certain ornaments and cosmetics the wearing of which indicate the marital status of the women such as *sindur*, etc. It has been remarked that these are decorations which have some religious significance for the Hindu, and we feel that the Christian women use them in an effort to identify themselves with their Hindu counterparts. It is noted that Christian women stop wearing these traditional cosmetics and ornaments at the death of their husbands as it is customary among the Hindu women.

Christian Rituals and Festivals.—India is a home of rituals and festivals and in the absence of Christian festivals in rural areas many of the Christian families readily participate in non-Christian festivals. This indicates that effort should be made to introduce Christian festivals and rituals which will break the monotony of life of the rural Christian. In this regard, importance of rituals, such as baptism, marriage, harvesting, Christmas, Easter, Mother's Day, etc., should not be minimised. The majority at the Consultation is of the opinion that since non-Christian festivals are based on religious authority, they should not be celebrated by Christians.

The urban Christians are in a better position in this respect because they have some other facilities: clubs, parties, dramas, melas, sports, etc.

The Christian Family.—In the rural areas the houses in which Christian families live, in general, can be identified from the others by their neat and clean appearance. In addition in some homes the picture of Christ can also be seen. The relationship between the various members of the family is generally more harmonious and democratic. Since most of the rural families are from depressed castes, they are of the nuclear pattern. In low income groups the wife also has to work outside the home to subsidize family income. This has occasionally affected the training of the children and sometimes broken the homes. In the urban areas there is no set pattern for Christian home. It differs from income to income which again is closely linked with the status of the family.

The family still considers its duty to support the old and other dependents. However, the old and non-earning members no more exert as much control over family matters as they did in the past. Industrialization in so many ways is affecting the family pattern today both in the urban and rural areas. Many of the rural families (husband and wife) which have migrated to the cities have left the old and dependents behind. However due to the ties of love and affection they continue to send money for their support and visit them during Christmas festivals, marriages, vacations and on other important occasions.

The standard of living in the city tends to become artificial and expensive. This is maintained with the purpose of improving one's status. Therefore wives work to supplement income of the husbands. This often affects husband-wife relationship and care

of the home and children. Such conditions are not peculiar only to the Christian community. The high standard of life is more evident in the urban and rural Christian families than with families of non-Christians of the same income status.

The average size of the family of the same income group and status of the rural and urban Christian is almost the same. The size of the urban Christian family is showing a decreasing tendency and is consistent with the general pattern of society. Family planning is playing a predominant role in limiting the size of the family in urban areas. Family planning information is gradually filtering into the rural areas also.

Education.—Education of the rural Christian children is usually taken care of by 'mission' schools and the parents have to pay, if at all, a nominal fee. In such schools, they get good education and good Christian training. However, there is a marked difference between girls' schools and boys' schools. For some reasons, the girls' schools are better maintained. In most of the boys' schools the majority of the students and the staff are non-Christians and therefore there is little personal contact between Christian teachers and Christian students.

The living arrangements in some of the boarding houses for boys are inadequate. At present, attempts are being made to have separate blocks for Christian students. The result of non-Christian influence in Christian schools has often affected Christian students adversely as well as broadened their outlook. In some Christian institutions the common dining room has a healthy social influence on both Christians and non-Christians.

However, in the institutions for higher learning the number of Christian students is very small and their performance in examinations has not been commendable. This affects the recruiting of Christian staff in schools and colleges. It is on account of this reason that Christian young men, even with high academic qualifications but with a low division, do not find suitable jobs in Christian or non-Christian institutions.

Christian girls on the other hand make better use of their educational facilities and show a good performance at the public examinations and can get good jobs. However, with the growth of education, many educated non-Christian girls are now competing with the Christian girls for various jobs, such as teaching,

medicine, nursing, telephone exchange, stenography, etc. The scope of employment for Christian girls is becoming restricted.

The city environment exerts a great influence on the personality of the students. The boys, often, are attracted away from their families whereas girls remained attached. Therefore the unmarried girls after completing their education help in supporting their parents and brothers and sisters.

Christian girls in general and educated Christian girls in particular are finding it difficult to get a suitable match. This has sometimes forced them to continue in their jobs. The parents, even though anxious, find their daughters' income a good means of support. The result is that many who could have made good wives and good mothers, and could have established a real Christian home remain unmarried. A few of them break away and marry non-Christians.

Occupations.—Occupations condition the life of a community in every respect. Since rural Christians are mostly from depressed classes, *e.g.*, sweepers, chamars, doms, etc. and continue following their occupations even though they become Christians, they are regarded low. This does not remove the "psychology" of the depressed people from them. For example, the sweeper Christians who have continued in their own occupations are still sweepers in the real sense of the term. The same is true with the chamar. An effort should be made to prevent them from continuing in their occupation and also to provide training for new jobs which shall remove the "hall mark" of a "sweeper" or "chamar". This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that those among them who have left their villages and migrated to cities and taken jobs in factories, offices, schools or colleges have acquired a new social status.

The statistics supplied by the Government of India (1951) in regard to the principal occupations of the U.P. Indian Christians is significant in certain respects. The largest occupation according to it is that of cultivators, some are in industries (more women) and others work as field labourers, wood-cutters and domestic servants. There are a few beggars and prostitutes.

Christians working in the railways, armed forces and factories earn enough, but due to the nature of their occupations, they tend

to drift away from their families as well as from the Church. Alcoholism, gambling and such other vices are said to be more common among them. This again has had harmful influence upon them and their families: wife, children, home. Since most of these are in urban centres, the Church should help them through industrial evangelists and pastors.

Leaders and Leadership Problems.—For effective Christian service we need leaders as advisers, organisers, educators, representatives of the people, etc. There is a dearth of leadership in U.P., because of the following reasons:—

(1) Dependence and reliance on 'missionaries';

(2) Very few persons who pledge themselves for the service of the Church;

(3) Self-interest with a view to have prestige and power;

(4) Western style of our leaders makes them appear aliens;

(5) Lack of education and training;

(6) The people of ability do not have contact with the masses and their problems.

We are of the opinion that the lives of our outstanding leaders in the past should be studied for inspiration.

Suggestions

1. Architecture, music, dramas, forms of worship and other means of presentation of Christ to the non-Christians should be made indigenous. Artists like Frank Wesley of Azamgarh, and musicians like Chaubey and Lal of Agra have given a lead in this direction but much needs to be done.

2. The Church in U.P. should prepare itself to meet the challenge of resurgent Hinduism and of the rapidly changing society.

3. The Government has given the lead through legislation and action to eradicate some of the social evils (untouchability, dowry system, child-marriage, etc.) and the Church should join hands with the Government and not stand aloof.

4. The social implications of foreign aid to Churches be studied by a competent body.

5. The Consultation felt greatly handicapped by the lack of up-to-date information about the U.P. Christians. A proper survey of the social conditions of U.P. Christians should be conducted.

6. Christian laymen, especially youth, should be helped to relate the Christian faith to their secular callings. Theological colleges and other institutions of training ministers and evangelists should examine their curricula to be certain that they include in it a study of the Christian understanding of society in general and Indian society in particular.

Kerala Consultation Findings

CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY IN STATE AND SOCIETY IN KERALA TODAY

A Second Kerala Study Consultation was held at Alwaye from October 8 to 12, 1959 to consider the Christian Responsibility in Society and State in Kerala Today. *It was organised under the joint auspices of the Kerala Christian Council, the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society and the National Christian Council.* The following are the Findings which were unanimously adopted as expressing the general consensus of the participants.*

I. Christian Political Responsibility in Kerala Today

Objectives

As Christian citizens of India we are committed to a democratic order of society and the realisation of a socialistic Welfare State which promotes the material and spiritual welfare of all people and provides opportunities for the fullest development of the personality of every citizen. This objective is positive and dynamic. On the one hand, we have to uphold the democratic way of life and the Rule of Law. On the other hand, we should promote rapid social change in the direction of greater and greater justice to the common people. In this connection, we are faced with two challenges in Kerala. One is communism which, in its working, we have seen to be a negation of democracy and religious freedom. The other is communalism which makes the functioning of a democracy extremely difficult and seriously hampers collective social progress. Both communism and communalism have to be effectively opposed if our objectives are to be realised. But mere opposition by itself will not ensure real progress. It has to go hand in hand with a positive programme which will enthuse all sections of the people to co-operate effectively in a dynamic social order.

Evaluation

In the light of the objectives and tasks stated above, we have sought to evaluate the Kerala situation. The Congress and P.S.P.

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* *See* fuller report elsewhere.

Governments did give a lead in certain measures for social progress, but they failed, to a large extent, to fulfil the aspirations of the people of Kerala. Meanwhile the privileged classes, including a large section of the Christian community, continued to live in disregard of the cry for economic and social justice. Many felt great frustration. The desire for a change of government became almost universal. All this influenced the elections of February 1957 which brought the Communists to power in Kerala.

When the Communist Government took charge, a large section of the underprivileged people of Kerala felt a sense of greater dignity and importance than before. This awakening of some of the hitherto-suppressed sections of the people was a positive factor working for the strengthening of democracy. But the Communist Party and the Government often used this new consciousness of dignity and power among the poor people to bring in a spirit of class conflict and this, in many cases, led to excesses resulting in violent clashes. There was a general roughening and coarsening of human relationships and there was a cultural retrogression in the State. In the course of the Communist rule in Kerala the Government pursued a deliberate policy of discrimination between sections of the people which resulted in the breakdown of the Rule of Law and led to a good deal of insecurity and lawlessness. Many felt that the resources and power of the Government were to a large extent used for the interests of the Communist Party at the cost of the common good. Not only by their tenets, but also by their practice in Kerala, the Communists have shown that they do not work in a truly democratic way.

The 1957 Alwaye Consultation expressed the view that the Communist Government ought to be given discerning support. Such support was given in the case of the Agrarian Relations Bill, as is seen from the fact that it was passed by the Legislature without opposition from any political party. A few members of the present Consultation feel that the opposition parties were not sufficiently co-operative in the Legislature and that support ought to have been given also in the case of the Kerala Anti-Dowry Bill and the Christian Succession Act (Repeal) Bill 1958 which was to have extended to Kerala the provisions of the Indian Succession Act. In the case of the Education Bill there was strong opposition from various sections of the people to some of its clauses, especially

to Clause 11, consequent on the refusal of the Communist Government to make suitable adjustments. This and various other things caused unrest in the State and a crisis developed. The indifference on the part of the advanced communities to any dynamic social change which was one of the causes that brought the Communists to power, the attempt of the Communists to introduce the spirit of class conflict which often led to violent clashes, the discrimination of the Government between sections of the people, and the agitation which this caused—all these together have shown the inadequacy of our commitment to democracy, and also have contributed to the weakening of democracy among us. While affirming the constitutionality of Central intervention, we hold the view that an earlier Central intervention might have prevented lawlessness and disorder from assuming such proportions.

The Tasks before Us

The task before us today is the formation of a truly democratic government which would effectively implement a programme of progressive social change. In this connection we have to evaluate the electoral alliance of the major non-communist Parties of Kerala. We are aware of the dangers inherent in an alliance of the Congress and the P.S.P. with a communal party like the Muslim League. There is a real possibility of the parties to such an alliance being estranged from one another after the elections, because of their inherent differences. Nevertheless, as the need of the hour is to see that the democratic parties come to power, in the present circumstances we do not see any alternative to the alliance that has been effected. There is a possibility in this alliance of the negative anti-communism being exploited by communal fanaticism and by groups and interests which are opposed to progressive changes in the economic and social realms. Such forces must be watched against, especially in the selection of candidates. Adequate representation should be given to the economically and socially backward sections of the population, and to women, in the choice of candidates. It is necessary that persons of integrity, ability, and political discipline, should be selected as candidates. At the same time it should be remembered that in a democratic set-up, people should be guided, in the exercise of their franchise, by the policies and programmes of the political parties, and should discourage independent candidates. We also want to

emphasise the importance of the needs of the common man being clearly reflected in the manifestoes of the allied parties.

A dynamic socialist society should promote the well-being of all people irrespective of their religion or community. In this connection we note that discrimination on the basis of religion is still a reality. As an example, we may cite the fact that converts from Scheduled Castes to Christianity, Islam or Buddhism, are still discriminated against in the matter of grants, educational concessions, and other aids. Such discrimination goes against the spirit of the Constitution, and we expect democratic political parties to do everything in their power to redress such grievances.

One of the weaknesses of our democracy is that considerable sections of the people play little part in its working beyond casting their votes at election time. If all the enthusiasm and energy of the people, manifested occasionally as at the time of the last crisis, could be mobilised in a continued and persistent fight against social evils and in the task of nation-building, the life of the people would improve rapidly. Every effort should, therefore, be made to enthuse the common people to participate responsibly in all aspects of national life. There is need to evolve a programme of constructive work which the common people would regard as their own and would be enthusiastic about. In this connection we want to emphasise the responsibility especially of the young people in all communities.

There is a widespread tendency in our country today to try to solve political disputes through direct action like civil disobedience. This tendency has to be discouraged. But in extreme cases where the government itself flouts the Rule of Law in its application in day-to-day life, there may be no alternative to such direct action. However, some members of the Consultation could not agree to even this exception because direct action would on the whole lead to a weakening of democracy.

We would like to emphasise the responsibility of the intelligentsia in promoting independent political thinking and in giving correct guidance to the common people. Political cynicism which results in indifference or irresponsible criticism without a constructive approach is an obstacle to the growth of democracy. The intelligentsia have a responsibility to be concerned for social justice and to speak and act with courage of conviction. Active

participation in political life involves taking up responsibility to eradicatecorruption and abuses in public life. We want also to appeal to the political parties not to make use of students to gain their political ends.

The Press has a great role to play in a democratic society. Its reporting must be objective and its comments constructive and fair. It must help to marshal the forces of social change to promote informed public discussion and maintain a critical watch over the public life and the preservation of fundamental rights.

Conclusion

The Church should always uphold democratic values and proclaim the principles that ought to govern the different issues facing the country. Though Bishops and clergy, as citizens of the State, have a right to express their opinions on political issues, great care should be taken by them in the use of their official position. It would be desirable to foster progressive groups in all the Churches to continue to create a ferment in society to bring about desirable social changes. Inter-denominational groups may be formed for the promotion of the concern for social change within the community and among the Churches. As the Public Questions Committee of the Kerala Christian Council gives critical opinions on current topics, all the Christian Churches in the State ought to give it increasing support. Communal political organisations of Christians should not normally get encouragement; however this should not preclude the right of any affected group to organise themselves and work for the redress of their grievances. In this connection the National Christian Council should make effective representation to the Government of India for the removal of the discrimination shown against converts from scheduled castes and tribes on the basis of religion.

In conclusion, we view with some concern the undue politicalisation of life in the recent past. It is a recognised truth that man has ends and loyalties which transcend political and economic relations. Real community can be built up only if the non-political aspects of life are normally given dominance. The Church, with its commitment to the sovereignty of love and fellowship in human relations, has a great responsibility in bringing about such a normalisation of human relationships in Kerala. This involves,

among other things, that both within its own fellowship and outside, men and women should be seen and treated not primarily in terms of their political loyalties and ideologies but in terms of their common humanity in Jesus Christ.

II. Caste and Communal Structures as They Affect the Development of a Democratic Welfare State and Society

Changing Social Structure

An understanding of the caste and communal structure of Kerala is essential for every study of Kerala and its problems. This is because of the nature of the communal and caste structure existing here, and the extensive nature of its influence. Historically and traditionally Kerala has been a land where castes and communities have played a significant role. The emergence of democratic ideals has brought about some change, but real decisions affecting the individual and his social relationships continue to be made largely by caste and community groups. This accounts for the dominant role played by community groups like the N.S.S., the S.N.D.P., the Muslim League, etc. In the case of the Christian community, the various Churches function as the decision-making factor. In the recent past, a section of the communities in Kerala has been influenced in making decisions by political groups like the Communist Party. This has been most marked in the backward communities.

In recent years, changes have been taking place in other spheres also especially in the relation between the traditional communities. The status, social positions, etc., of the different communities were not at all on a par in the past and sharp divisions existed among them. But during the last two decades or so, the impact of western liberal education, the ideals of democracy and social influences from without served to accelerate this change in their relations. A marked increase in the communal consciousness especially among the backward communities and the emergence of a new sense of the personality of the individuals may be pointed out as two important results of this change. The organised effort of the Ezhava community for social justice and greater social status may be pointed out as a concrete instance of this

change. A remarkable sense of unity and sense of dignity are now evident among those who were once downtrodden. It has to be pointed out that the Communists in Kerala helped the process to a great extent.

These changes in the communities will pave the way for the emergence of a new society transcending the present caste and communal associations. This new social structure should not be monolithic but should give scope for diverse development. This is the goal of our community living. The trends leading to the emergence of the new society will be greatly influenced by the ideals of secularism and political democracy. The following aspects are of great significance in this process: equality of opportunity for all, freedom of worship and conscience, security of human rights and privileges, facilities of welfare institutions like hospitals and orphanages, educational opportunities for all, etc. But we cannot have at present any clear picture of the new society emerging. Industrialisation and urbanisation will have great effect in deciding the nature of the society. Already some trends of social stratification on a class income basis are to be seen, but caste and communal structure will continue to have significant influence for some time to come. There is the danger of a cultural vacuum being created in this changing phase. The intense emotional attachment to the caste and communal structure is a force to be reckoned with. The pace of emergence of a new national culture will have to be accelerated. But the valuable features of the indigenous cultures should be preserved and developed. The need of study and research on the changing aspects of the communal and caste structure is to be emphasised. It is suggested that some Christian educational institutions take up the project of special study in the field.

Special Recognition of Backward Communities

As explained earlier, in Kerala, caste and communal groups are largely the real deciding units of the body politic. This is a fact which has to be taken into consideration in trying to understand our problems and in trying to solve them. Even those who want to build a secular non-communal society are forced to recognise certain interests of communal groups. In this connection the backward communities and their interests should be given primary consideration. Although the principle of catering to the needs

of particular communal groups is not commendable, in order to bring the backward communities to the level of other communities and to enable them to take their legitimate share in society and state as a whole, they should be given some special consideration.

Ultimately such special considerations are to be given only on the basis of need and merit but for a few more years this should be extended to the economically and socially backward communities alone. This should be in the form of additional economic assistance, enhanced facilities for education and employment, etc. Since the status of such communities is likely to change as a result of these special considerations there should be periodic evaluations to determine their position in the society in general. It should be made clear that the special considerations envisaged above should be made available to *all* the backward communities irrespective of their religious affiliations. For example, the Christian converts from scheduled castes should be given the same considerations as their brethren who have not been converted. In the sphere of politics also, these backward communities should be given increased opportunities.

The Christian Community

The Christian community in Kerala has certain unique features. It consists roughly of two sections, *viz.*, the "advanced" and the "backward". Both these sections should realise that they belong equally to the one Body of Christ, the Church, but unfortunately their relations have not fully accorded with this principle. As a first step towards the integration of these sections it is most desirable that the system of having separate pastors and Churches should cease. Caste prejudice should have no place in the Church.

The Christian community stands for the uplift and progress of all the communities, although it must be admitted with deep regret that we have not been fulfilling this ideal. The Church must also do everything to foster good relations between the various communities. At present in Kerala the existing relationship between some of the major communities is commendable, but sincere attempts should be made to have better relations between all communities in the State. The present opportunity is to be used for promoting social justice and political democracy. However, it is necessary to guard against the possible danger of

reactionary elements within the communities using the present communal accord for their own ends.

There are fundamental human rights which have to be safeguarded although some may call them 'communal'. For instance, Christians should have their own schools for imparting Christian education. They should always have the right to propagate their faith. In social and economic spheres we should be prepared to give up some of our advantages for furthering democracy and justice.

It is necessary to have internal social reform measures within the advanced Christian community. For example there should be greater freedom for the individual and equality of inheritance, irrespective of sex. The dowry system has been greatly misused and the abuses in the system should certainly cease. Necessary changes must be evolved to eliminate such injustices and discriminations in the community.

The Churches should not identify themselves with any political party. But they have a responsibility to educate the people on political issues in the light of the Christian gospel, bearing in mind the fact that we are committed to the cause of democracy.

Churches and Christian organizations like the Kerala Christian Council ought to give the necessary guidance and leadership in the field. There should be a group of competent persons to study together the legislative measures of the Government from time to time and to formulate a Christian critique. There should be periodic meetings of Christian political leaders and legislators belonging to different parties along with Christian theologians for appraising contemporary affairs. Civic consciousness among the members of the community should be furthered by every means possible. All efforts should be made to bring social amity and better understanding primarily among the different sections of the Christian community and also with the various other communities. It is the responsibility of Christians to do their utmost for the betterment of the state and society of which they are a part.

III. Caste and Communal Structures within the Church as They Affect its Life and Mission

The Christian gospel is concerned with man not only as an individual but also as a member of society, for only thus can he

grow into the full measure of the stature of Christ, which is his heritage. In the Kingdom of God and the fellowship of the Church is to be found man's true destiny. The New Testament declares that the fellowship of the Church is one that transcends the natural and historical barriers of sex, race, culture and tradition. "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." If the Church is true to her Master and Lord she should prove to be the true home of the high-born and the low-born, the privileged and the underprivileged, the cultured and the less cultured, for they are all alike heirs of the Grace of God and share the same hope. A Church which directly or indirectly permits the assumption of superiority by any one group repudiates the gospel of reconciliation and at-one-ment between man and God and between man and man.

The Syrian Christians have long considered themselves as having a status similar to that of high caste groups in the Hindu social structure, and for this reason they have followed caste customs to a large extent. The Church has often functioned as an exclusive group and for long it did not do much evangelistic work among other groups. With the advent of the Western missions in the modern period, the gospel and modern education came to the outcaste and lower caste people. The Syrian Church, awakened to her evangelistic responsibility, also began to work among them. In Central Kerala many from the Ezhava community and various Scheduled-Caste groups joined the Church. In the coastal regions, besides the earlier conversion of fisherfolk as a result of the work of Francis Xavier to the Roman Church, there has been conversion of people from the Ezhava and other groups later as a result of the Protestant Missions. In South Travancore missionary work was done primarily among the Nadars and the lower castes. In the North Kerala area the people who joined the Church were primarily from Thiya and Scheduled-Caste communities. So we have in the Church in Kerala people from different social and caste backgrounds.

In most cases the converts have come into the Church as a social or caste group. As a result, there came to exist side by side in some places Churches and chapels for so-called advanced and backward communities, and they were separated from each

other on caste and communal basis. The danger to the Christian cause this practice involved was not realised at the time. Later, these various caste groups created vested interests, and struggles for control came into being. In the present situation in Kerala the socially backward sections of the Christian community have undergone a social awakening and are fighting against oppressive social conditions. All these have resulted in several tensions coming into the Church. The situation calls for a new effort to make real the fellowship of the Christian community.

Untouchability and discrimination on the basis of caste are forbidden by law in India, and it is a matter for rejoicing that government and other secular agencies are trying to eradicate casteism and that too with a certain measure of success. Christians should give whole-hearted support to all such efforts and one of the ways of doing so is to eradicate casteism from the Church itself.

As a first step to eradicate these evils, the Christian community should be educated to realise that the maintenance of caste is un-Christian:

1. Articles with constructive suggestions on this subject should be published regularly in dailies, weeklies and Christian magazines;

2. Conferences and groups should be convened at the local level to discuss this problem and to plan for its eradication;

3. Christian youth organizations should educate their members on the evils of casteism and the importance of an integrated community;

4. The enlightened public should urge the people to avoid the use of caste designations; pastoral letters of heads of Churches giving advice in this matter will have good effect.

5. The Kerala Christian Council should appoint a sub-committee on casteism that may help to bring to our Churches the seriousness of this problem and suggestions for co-operative efforts for its removal:

The Churches and various organisations within the Church may do much to eradicate caste. We suggest a few ways:

1. The appellation "Syrian" should be dropped from all titles of Churches and Christian organisations;

2. The Christian Home Movement should arrange for inter-caste family visits;

3. Sunday Schools, Youth Groups, etc., should be integrated at once at the local level. At the regional level such organisations should organise annual programmes such as common Sunday School Rallies;

4. Sanction should not be given for the erection of new Churches on a caste basis. Such Churches existing in the same locality should be integrated as soon as possible. Better understanding may be fostered through joint worship services, and fellowship meetings should be arranged between members of the different caste-Churches. People of all castes and classes should be invited to social functions such as marriage and baptism;

5. Adequate representation should be given to the "Backward Class" Christians in the governing bodies of the Church;

6. Pioneering attempts for the integration of the various castes should be supported. We should help to create an atmosphere favourable to increasing social intercourse (including marriage) across caste boundaries within the Church.

"Backward Class" Christians have been attracted to the Communist Party because they found there a serious consideration of their dire economic situation. We urge the Church to take up this aspect of its vocation more seriously:

1. We can help to train the educated unemployed to work effectively for the creation of the new society. For example, programmes of co-operative house-building can be started. Educated unemployed youth might well help the unprivileged to build such new houses;

2. Projects like technical training schools may be started to provide the unemployed with skills which will help their absorption into society;

3. The landless agricultural labourers on our lands whether Church or private, have often cultivated such lands for generations. It is only just that they be given the ownership of such land. This may be best done by the organisation of a co-operative society which will hold the land for the common good although the individual family will have full use of such land for self-tilling. Christians should co-operate with the State in providing necessary

legislation for just land tenure. All possible efforts should be made to eliminate the present tension between "backward" and other Christians;

4. The managements of Christian institutions should give qualified "Backward Class" Christians more opportunities for work;

5. Special efforts should be made to train members of the "Backward Classes" for the ministry of the Church. In the appointment of priests and evangelists caste prejudice should be eliminated.

The above steps will only be effective where there is a real conversion on the part of all concerned. This is possible only by the work of the Holy Spirit in us. We therefore strongly recommend the formation of local prayer calls, including members of all sections of the local Church, who will pray regularly for elimination of caste and communal prejudices in the Church.

BOOK REVIEWS

Pilot Project, India: The Story of Rural Development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh. By Albert Mayer and Associates in collaboration with McKim Marriott and Richard L. Park with a foreword by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. Berkeley and Los-Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. (The review copy, containing only the above bibliographical data, was supplied in a dust jacket with an Oxford University Press imprint and seems to have been bound and perhaps even printed in India.)

This is an historical look into the foundation and growth of the Etawah project (and its immediate outgrowths) which very largely has served and in many ways continues to serve as the most important prototype for all of the Community Development and Extension Projects since its inception, both within Uttar Pradesh and throughout India. The history is presented through documents prepared and used in this beginning and growth by the administrators most intimately involved in it. Most of these documents are from the hand of Albert Mayer. This gives the whole work an autobiographical tinge which in turn tends to impart a personal complexion to any praise or criticism of the work. The separation of the work (both the project and the book) from the person, both for better and for worse, is rendered difficult if not impossible. This fact may also be a clue to the nature of the work. Given the kind of documents used it would have been difficult to represent the attitudes of the villagers and village-level-workers involved. Some documents representing them would have greatly enhanced the value of the book. A concluding critical essay by the two collaborators might also have vastly increased its usefulness. The book however is useful in two ways. It is a "how-to-do-it" handbook. The sensitive reader may find it equally useful for its detailing of unrecognized shortcomings which elsewhere may be recognized and avoided.

An unusual number of fallacies or half-truths based on something ess than adequate understanding of available information are found hroughout this book. Sometimes these take the order of a simple tatement not unlike, say, "Two principal cities of India are Ahmednagar and Calcutta". An example of this taken from a discussion of Christian contributions is: "Missionaries have also made important ndividual technical contributions: fine hospitals in Fatehgarh and Vellore" (p. 21). Anyone connected with the medical profession eading it is tempted to conclude that such a curious selection of facts, whatever its reason, in the field which they know well, indicates that

they must beware of similar distortions in all fields. Surely it is no reflection on Fatehgarh if such a medical reader questions the basis for its selection rather than Bareilly, Mattra, Ferozepore, Ludhiana and others not far from the centre of Mayer's work or the dozens of other superior hospitals between there and Vellore—not to mention those farther south. That this example comes from a document dated in the ninth of the eleven years of Mayer's experience, represented in the book, is not reassuring.

Through the years, in these documents, Mayer attributes most of the many kinds of institutional and behaviourial problems which plague him and his projects to inherited British patterns and attitudes of administration and to typical rural conservatism towards change. This completely overlooks such vital factors as character and behaviour patterns related to joint-family and caste social structures and (most assuredly un-British) cultural definitions of politeness, duty, right and truth. It seems to be a case writ very large of the order of fallacy noted above.

Mayer is critical of his predecessors in the business of doing good to villages and particularly of the official ones whose plans either never got far beyond the paper stage or whose projects, being largely an extension of their own personalities, had so little independent reality that they fell apart when they were transferred or retired. His points are well taken. But he is a bit too hard on F. L. Brayne and others of an earlier pre-Independence generation. However, in this context, Mayer does not seem to realize fully the implications of the crucial importance of his own personality to the Etawah project. In many ways Mayer was a kind of super-Brayne with all of the same problems of giving only part-time attention to the projects, of being in the unique position (because of the friendly support of those highest in Government, Pandit Pant and Pandit Nehru, and the general attribution of heightened status which accrues to Westeners in India today) to push his own ideas, and (as he complains of the typical district administrator in the U.P.) having an adminstrative satrapy in which to indulge his many personal prejudices and predilections. Perhaps Mayer is precisely the factor in the Pilot Projects which gives rise to many of the problems now found in the Community Development Projects which copied the form of the Pilot Projects without being able to have a respected aggressive foreigner such as Mayer in the picture to repeat their content. In recent years several Central Institutions have been set up to cope with the problems of putting motivation and democracy into the Community Development machinery. In its Etawah forms the machinery could not carry them.

The Etawah project might have been a better pilot in many ways if factors for improved personal and project "self-awareness" and understanding were introduced into it. Paper gestures in this direction were certainly made but they were not taken seriously. The key-job of this sort included in the organization was that of Rural Life Analyst, yet this job was seldom filled. Perhaps it did not seem important enough to those in charge. In fact one gathers (p. 294) that it remained unfilled at Etawah continuously after the first year of pilot work. At the larger level this self-evaluation was part of the paper task of the Planning Research and Action Institute which Mayer thought of quite early on, but gave such low priority that it was not started until much later. Provision should have been made for more research. It is cause for regret that even where it was made it remained largely inactive.

In many ways the Mayer of this book seems (unconsciously it appears) to be in the midstream of a long line of Westerners operating in India largely on the unexamined basis of their accumulated Western cultural presuppositions. This line was filled largely by the official Britisher whom he parodies and the missionary who founded institutions now seen as a burden on the Church. Since Mayer it has continued in the missionary foundation of Centres and Technical Schools and Western Foundation Projects both governmental and non-governmental (for instance the T.C.M. dream of "land grant colleges" for North India). That others before and after him lacked this self-awareness makes it no less regrettable that he too did. Two factors however worked in favour of Mayer. The change in the political situation made India more ready to accept and support Mayer than Brayne and others of an earlier generation. Further, Mayer himself was a mild sort of genius. This becomes clearer when talking with those who have worked with him than it does from the documents of this book.

As a guide to rural development this book lacks light on the goal. It is some state of normality in which extension work is still done but which comes after the period of intensive development described here. The termination of the intensive period is the crucial phase yet to come. Indeed in the history of village projects in India it has been the critical phase of collapse. Until some pilot project gets beyond this phase we cannot do more than reasonably hope that it is not headed wrong.

RICHARD W. TAYLOR, RAJPUR.

Force in International Relations. By A. Appadurai, Asia Publishing House. Pp. 124. Price Rs. 5·75.

The book consists of the Tara Prasad Khaitan lectures delivered at the Calcutta University in 1957 by Dr. Appadurai, the Director and

Professor of International Relations at the Indian School of International Studies in New Delhi. It is a realistic discussion of the dilemma which faces international politics today. On the one hand, the situation is such that even the U.N. cannot engage itself in a modern war in the name of collective security; on the other, the political demands for change in *status quo* in international relations constantly threaten peace. The author discusses the urgent problem of building a machinery for effecting peaceful change in *status quo* and shows how a legalistic approach to international law cannot settle issues raised by the dynamics of political forces. The development of an adequate machinery depends however on a common acknowledgement by nations of the principle of co-existence. Dr. Appadurai does not consider either total disarmament or a federal world-state practical in the near future. But in his opinion, a partial disarmament and the development of an international body with the limited authority to prevent war are not impossible. All nuclear and other powerful weapons should be transferred to the International Authority and nation-states should be left with conventional arms for its self-defence. Even these should be made available to the Authority in agreed quotas when called to do so. Nuclear weapons in the Authority's hands should be banned from use and international inspection of all types of armaments is essential. The Authority itself should be vested with the power to use force (short of nuclear weapons) in the name of collective security. The author's mastery of historical facts and documents and his penetrating analysis of problems make the book a valuable contribution to Indian thinking on international relations.

Hinduism: Doctrine and Way of Life. By C. Rajagopalachari, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 2.

In this book, C. R. gives an exposition of Vedanta doctrines and Vedanta ethic in a masterly way. It is also apologetics. He begins with an affirmation of the adequacy of the Vedanta as a basis for New India. Says he: "The regulated co-operative economy that must replace individual competition calls for some spiritual and cultural basis, and the ethic and culture rooted in Vedanta can undoubtedly fulfil this purpose" (p. 15). In fact this affirmation is made repeatedly in the book. Vedanta is "remarkably consistent with science as well as politics" (p. 28). It "can serve as the spiritual and cultural basis of a new and more just economy of life, if not all over the world, at least in India itself" (p. 35). At the same time he offers Hinduism for acceptance not because it will help the nation but because of "its intrinsic appeal and worth". Then follows a lucid exposition of some Vedanta doctrines; *moksha*, *maya*, *karma* and of *Vedanta ethic*.

Selected texts from *Gita* and *Upanishads* add to the value of the book. There is a constant effort to correct popular misconceptions. *Sanyasa* is "the giving up of the selfish desire for the fruits of action and not the giving up of action itself" (p. 43). Vedanta takes "this world and this life and the law of *karma* to be hard realities" (pp. 62, 63); "Life is real and life is subject to eternal and unchangeable law; this and not unreality is the core of the Vedantic view of life" (p. 64). "It is wrong to think of *karma* in terms of what is understood by the word fatalism" (p. 78); it is "the Magna Carta of free will" for "industry and character will have their reward" (p. 79). "The Vedanta ethic is not for the advancement of the individual but of the world as a whole" (p. 86). And so on. This attempt to reinterpret Hinduism and Hindu ethic to provide an ethos to the new society of India is most welcome. But I am doubtful whether the reinterpretation has gone far enough to comprehend the deeper dimensions of both the creative and destructive aspects of the individual freedom and the social revolution to which India is today awake. This is not stated with any aim to make a better case for Christianity. Most certainly Christianity has certain unique insights about man and society which are relevant to the new life in India. But their relevance should be shown in the power to transform and redefine indigenous religious culture, so that it may be a more adequate foundation for responsible society and state.

Warnings of History (Trends in Modern India). By K. M. Munshi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7, 1959. Pp. 74. Price Rs. 0·75.

The book is a commentary on current political and social trends in India. It is a collection of seven addresses by a former Governor of Utter Pradesh. Munshi is sincerely afraid that the trends towards Secularism and greater state planning of social life would lead to a new despotism. The book therefore may be taken in large part as an exposition of the trends in India which find expression in the Swatantra Party under the leadership of C. R. Munshi no doubt makes a strong case for his main thesis. But he has done scant justice to Nehru's argument that when a people are awake to their rights for social justice and a tolerable standard of life, democracy must deliver the goods or surrender to despotism. This also is a lesson of history. Democracy no doubt is faced with peril if it produces revolutions which cannot be disciplined by the moral and religious convictions of a people and controlled by existing political institutions; but it faces an equal peril if the people who demand revolutionary changes feel that the pace of change is too slow and needs to be quickened by violent methods. This idilemma s acute in an underdeveloped country like India.

M. M. T.

THREE CHRISTIAN STUDY CONSULTATIONS

I. FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATION, NAGPUR—September to October 1959

Under the auspices of the National Christian Council of India, and the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society and in co-operation with the Fellowship of Reconciliation (India) a Christian Study Consultation was held at the Christian Council Lodge, Nagpur, from 30th September to October 5, 1959. The purpose of the Consultation was (1) "to study India's relation with her Asian neighbours and her declared policies in relation to the power-blocs, world peace and world community and evaluate the same in the light of the Christian faith and its understanding of the world and (2) in this connection review the Study Document of the World Council of Churches on *Christians and Prevention of War in an Atomic Age*".

Dr. D. G. Moses and Dr. P. D. Devanandan presided over the Consultation. Over 30 people including theologians and teachers of social sciences as well as other lay leaders of the Church participated in the Consultation. There was a period of plenary discussions following papers by Dr. K. P. Bhagat and Dr. John, G. Arapura on *The Political Presuppositions of India's Foreign Policy* and Rev. Basil Manuel and Mr. C. S. Paul on the *WCC Document on Christians and the Prevention of War.* After this, three groups concentrated respectively on (1) *India's Policy in Relation to World Order and Peace* (Chairman: Dr. D. G. Moses, Secretary: Mr. E. V. Mathew) (2) *India and Her Neighbours* (Chairman: Mr. R. M. Chetsingh, Secretary: Mr. V. H. Devadas) and (3) *Review of the WCC Document* (Chairman: Dr. J. P. Joshua, Secretary: Rev. Basil Manuel). The group reports were presented to the plenary and were discussed, redrafted by the groups in the light of the discussions and again revised by the whole Consultation before final adoption. Therefore the three reports express the general consensus of the whole Consultation on the issues considered.

Rev. Murray Rogers acted as Chaplain. He led the morning worship and meditations and organised noon intercessions and compline.

The following booklets and papers were circulated to the participants for preparatory reading:—

1. *A Provisional Study Document on Christians and the Prevention of War in an Atomic Age—A Theological Discussion* (World Council of Churches—Division of Studies, 1958).

2. The booklet *The Witness of the Churches in the Midst of Social Change* (A Survey of Ecumenical Social Thought—EACC, 1959) containing a section on *The Church's Witness in International Affairs.*

3. *The Struggle Against Thermonuclear Weapons as a Task of the Church.* [Report of a nation-wide conference of ecumenical workers held in Prague in 1957 on the above theme. Out of this, three papers were included:

(*a*) *Modern War in the Light of Christian Testimony*—(A Christian Contribution to the question of modern war and atomic weapons) by Dr. Imrich Varga, Bishop of the Christian Reformed Church in Slovakia.

(*b*) *True Co-existence and How to Bring it About*—By Andrej Ziak.

(*c*) Relevant Parts of the Resolutions of the Conference.

4. *Ethics and Foreign Policy.* (Background paper for the Fifth World Order Study Conference at Cleveland, Ohio, November 1958.) By Dr. John C. Bennett, Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

5. *Asian Neutralism* (Part of the 15th Montague Barton Lecture)—By Ivor Jennings.

6. *The F.O.R. Appeal to the Churches of India*, with Appendix—*Comments* by M. M. T. (NCC Review, August 1958).

7. *The Creativeness of Nehru's Paganism*—By M. M. T. (Community, 1955).

8. *The EACC Assembly on International Relations* (from the Study Report).

9. *India's Foreign Policy and Her Asian Neighbours.* By Ranjit M. Chetsingh.

10. *India's Policies in International Relations in Relation to the Promotion of a Just Peace and World Order.* By John G. Arapura.

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II. U.P. CONSULTATION, RAJPUR—September 1959

The Consultation in Rajpur was held from September 12 to 16, 1959 under the auspices of the National Christian Council, Christian Institute for the Study of

Religion and Society and the Christian Retreat and Study Centre, to consider the political, economic and social problems facing the U.P. Christian Community. It was organised by the Director of the Rajpur Centre in consultation with Dr. E. C. Bhatty (Nagpur) and the Rev. A. J. Shaw (Lucknow) and the Directors of the CISRS. Dr. Bhatty and Rev. Shaw were the Chairmen of the Consultation. There were over 30 participants who included teachers of schools and colleges, pastors, theologians, social workers and other leaders of the U.P. Church and Christian Community.

Papers dealing with the problems of the U.P. Christian Community by Sri. S. L. Parmar, Sri. K. V. Rajan, Dr. E. C. Bhatty and others as well as the study pamphlets on *Economic Differentials* were sent out to the participants, for preparatory reading. At the Consultation, there were preliminary discussions based on papers by Dr. E. C. Bhatty, Dr. John Radhakrishnan, Sri. S. L. Parmar, Sri. M. A. Z. Rolston and Miss S. Bailey on different aspects of the theme. After this, three separate groups considered political, economic and social problems of the community respectively. The following were the leaders of groups: (1) *Political Life*, Rev. A. J. Shaw (Chairman), and Rev. M. A. Z. Rolston (Secretary); (2) *Economic Life*, Mr. J. M. G. Ram (Chairman) and Sri. S. L. Parmar (Secretary); and (3) *Social and Cultural Life*, Dr. C. M. Chatterji (Chairman) and Dr. T. S. Wilkinson (Secretary). Their reports were presented to the plenary which discussed, revised and adopted them as a starting point to follow-up studies.

Rev. Murray Rogers and Rev. Theodore Tewari led the Morning Bible Studies. The main studies were based on the prophecy of Malachi.

The Consultation authorised the Allahabad participants (Dr. Chatterji, Rev. Gideon and Sri. Parmar) to translate and publish the reports; and appointed a Committee with Rev. A. J. Shaw as Convener to organise a Follow-up Consultation next year in which the proceedings would be in Hindustani and there would be leaders of rural and urban communities considering their problems separately as well as together.

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III. KERALA CONSULTATION, ALWAYE—October 1959

As a follow-up of the 1957 Alwaye Consultation a second Kerala Christian Consultation was held at the Fellowship House, Alwaye, from October 8 to 12, 1959, to consider the *Christian Responsibility in State and Society in Kerala Today* under the Chairmanship of Rt. Rev. Philipose Mar Chrysostum, Kottyam, Rev. Dr. P. D. Devanandan, Bangalore and Rev. Dr. K. C. Joseph, Alwaye. The Consultation was held under the auspices of the Kerala Christian Council, the National Christian Council and the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. The planning was done by the Public Questions Committee of the K.C.C. and on their behalf was organised by the Associate Director of the CISRS. Over 50 people participated in the Consultation. It may be noted that they included members of the Orthodox, Mar Thoma and Lutheran Churches, Northern, Central and Southern Dioceses of the C.S.I., Church of God and Salvation Army. A few Roman Catholics were also present. There were also five non-Keralites. All the participants were invited in their personal, and not official, capacities.

Three topics were studied by the Consultation (1) *The Christian Political Responsibilities in Kerala*, (2) *Caste and Communal Structures as they Affect the Development of a Democratic Welfare State and Society*, (3) *Caste and Communal Structures within the Church as they Affect its Life and Mission.* These topics were introduced respectively by (1) Messrs. E. V. Mathew and C. P. Mathew, (2) Dr. P. D. Devanandan, Dr. K. C. Joseph, Messrs. P. J. Alexander and Mathews Phillip and (3) Messrs. K. C. Seth and J. P. Kovilakathu. Groups had the following leadership: (1) *Politics.*—Dr. K. C. Joseph (Chairman), E. V. Mathew and Rev. A. A. Pylee (Secretaries), (2) *Communal Structures and Democracy.*—Bishop Philipose Mar Chrysostum (Chairman) and Messrs. C. I. Mathunny and Clery P. V. Verghese (Secretaries), (3) *Caste in the Church.*—Rev. D. S. Sahayadas (Chairman) and Messrs. P. Chacko and T. V. Philip (Secretaries). The Findings were unanimously adopted as expressing the general consensus of the Consultation. The Consultation appointed a Committee with Dr. K. C. Joseph as Convener to translate and publish the Findings and also another consisting of Messrs. K. A. Mathew and M. M. Thomas and K. E. Mammen (Convener) to take steps for the propagation of the ideas contained in the Findings.

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